1-1-1982

The challenge of transculturation in a westernized technological society : reconstructing Jewish values in Israel through a dialogical approach to education.

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THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSCULTURATION IN A WESTERNIZED TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY: RECONSTRUCTING JEWISH VALUES IN ISRAEL THROUGH A DIALOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1982

School of Education

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DEDICATION

. . . to the blessed memory of my parents, Shoshanna and Yisrael

who

introduced me to the ethics and aesthetics of our Torah and those of others, our Land of Israel and those of others, questioning

belief . . .

the little I know

the little I am

from them.

Ve-yeebadloo le-hayeem arukheem . . . . . .

To my wife, Leora -

forever lighting the way which I seek

and to all our glorious children - - - - - - -

may I deserve them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To . . .

Leora, my wife and our children who participated in the anguish of my learning process. May they now enjoy the fruits of our common labour . . .

my Aunt Sara, without whose moral and material aid this project would have been impossible . . .

my sister, Geulah Balfoura, who is "always there."

Prof. Haim Gunner, who introduced me to the UMass. community. May he and his be blessed . . .

Prof. George Urch, who, in his inimitable way, escorted me in my journey through the School of Education, the Center for International Education, and as second Committee Chairperson. I can find no words . . .

Prof. Bob Suzuki, my first Committee Chairperson, who fostered my "critical consciousness" in my dissertation process . . .

Prof. Jochanan Wijnhoven, for exposing me to his profound scholarship and sensitivity . . .

Prof. Al Alschuler, for introducing me to Paulo Freire and the concept of "personal

power" and - "walking Dael and Elya on the ceiling . . ."

Prof. Dave Evans and all the members of the Center for International Education - gratitude and affection. Shalom!

my editors, Pat Schneider and Walker Rumble, and typists, Eleanor Starzyk and Melanie Howell, for agreeing to work--well--under pressure.

ABSTRACT

The Challenge of Transculturation in a Westernized Technological Society: Reconstructing Jewish Values in Israel Through a Dialogical Approach to Education

(February, 1982)

Shmuel Herzl Govreen-Yehudaeen, Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor George Urch

The sociocultural gap between Oriental and Occidental Jews in Israel has been a divisive block to development during the nation's existence. Dialogical approaches in education offer hope for narrowing the cultural gap.

The State of Israel reflects European values resulting from the scientific and technological revolutions of the last two hundred years: materialism, individualism, achievement orientation, and modernization. However, more than half the Jews in Israel, those from Asia and Africa, hold traditional views of religion, society and culture.

The Western-oriented Zionist leadership in its attempt to create a modern state has found that the traditional values brought by Oriental Jewish immigrants, who resist modernization, threaten the Israeli

establishment's vision of a model society. Lack of understanding between the two segments of Israeli Jewry has created the sociocultural gap.

To narrow the gap and eventually abolish it, a genuine dialogue must develop between the Orientals and the Occidentals while the latter re-examine the bases of their ideology and culture. A true and practical dialogue can lead to a combination of values: the Occidentals' drive towards modernization with the Orientals' concern for individual fulfillment within a traditional structure.

Until now, the Israeli educational policy makers have attempted to integrate the Orientals into the Occidental value structure, through various "melting-pot" strategies with but little success. The alternative educational strategies which are proposed here are based on the contributions of several humanistic thinkers and educational strategists such as Martin Buber and Paulo Freire, who advocate the dialogical approach in education.

This approach will be enhanced, it is proposed, with a new philosophical concept of education--called "Ruah' adama'muda"--a Jewish version of critical consciousness to humanize objectified human beings. An educational strategy called "Regenerative Return" has been formulated to implement "Ruah'adama'muda" in Israel's educational framework.

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. . . the State of Israel was established not as an aim in itself but as an instrument for the realization of a vision of generations, for the realization of social ideals and for the establishment of a new, transformed society. Education must be the central instrument for the realization of the vision for educating the young generation in Judaism and Zionism. Education is called upon to cope with different problems--at times without the aid of the adult society that has not realized many of the ideals it set for itself. That adult society (the veteran settlers and founders of Israel), did not constitute a personal example for its sons and daughters, and in many cases even could not clearly define national and social aims--especially in areas in which deep differences of opinion split it.

The central problem facing Israeli society and its educational network is how to define: 1. What kind of Jewish society do we want, and how to educate towards it? 2. To what standard of quality of life do we aspire, and what is the price we are willing to pay for it? 3. How much social and value pluralism do we want, and how do we go about attaining it?

Education must provide answers to questions such as: What is the desirable relationship between the individual and society, society and education, continuity and change, equality and achievement, quantity and quality, uniformity and diversity? To what extent are we ready for cultural variety, for encouraging self-expression among ethnic, cultural and ideological groups--without undermining national unity?

--Dan Ronen[1]

> The absorption of the achievement-oriented and technological culture appears as an automatic part of the societal reality. . . . We do not tend to clarify to ourselves the weight of different factors of culture, including the relationship between the historical cultural heritage of the Jewish People down the ages, on the one hand, and the technological culture, on the other . . .
>
> We must find a new formulation of the pioneering norm, i.e., of behaviour in which is found a balance between the demands of society and the will of the individual; a balance in which individuals sustain themselves with a plausible standard of living, but are ready to serve the public, the Jewish People and its self-realization within Jewish society. . . . We must find paths (one path alone surely does not exist) between the strength of different cultures, and through this search, we must maintain the learning of, and interest in the Jewish heritage which has important and deeply meaningful attributes . . .
>
> --Natan Rotenstreich[2]

> Genetically, the Oriental population of Israel is rapidly absorbing the Ashkenazee Jews of the country, while culturally it is the Ashkenazee Jews who are absorbing the Oriental Jews . . .
>
> --Raphael Patai[3]

Raphael Patai's statement may be curiously paradoxical, but his accurate description of the Oriental[4] Jews being culturally absorbed by the Ashkenazee[5] succinctly sums up one of Israel's most pressing problems--the sociocultural gap.

The questions posed by Dan Ronen also bear directly on the problem of that gap. Its evolution is difficult to comprehend without knowing what kind of Jewish society the founders of the State of Israel

wanted in the early days of Zionist settlement in Palestine. The solution of the problem will depend on the future evolution of this society. The quality of life and its price also directly impinge on the cultural and economic criteria guiding the two sectors of the Jewish community in Israel--the Orientals and the Occidentals. The resolution of the tension between a monolithic value system on the one hand, and a pluralistic one on the other, will greatly determine in which way, how quickly and how effectively the gap will be narrowed.

Natan Rotenstreich offers two answers to these questions. The first is a reinterpretation of pioneering in the realm of social consciousness. The second is in the cultural sphere. Culturally, he proposes to drop anchor in the sea of secular Judaism while sailing along foreign rivers, to draw from these, and then return to enrich the sea with added sources for renewal. He also reminds the Jews of Israel that they must find the proper balance between the "historical cultural heritage" (which after all, is the basis of "secular Judaism" mentioned above), and the achievement-oriented and technological culture of the West.

These are important but only partial solutions. The problem is too complex to solve in only one sphere,

but there is one element common to all of its aspects--the need for dialogue. Without introducing and implementing dialogue between the individual and society, the religious and the secular, the old values and the new, the Ashkenazeem and the Mizraheem, there is little chance that problems can be resolved.

Purpose of the study. The purpose of this study is to examine manifestations of the sociocultural gap in Israel--its origins, results and ramifications for Israeli society. Within this context, the field of education is shown to have played a dominant role in the creation as well as the perpetuation of the gap. However, it is also demonstrated that education can provide the appropriate tools to narrow the gap.

In order to analyze properly contemporary sociocultural conditions in Israel, some philosophical, sociological and psychological theories are explored. An attempt is made to apply these theories practically through the use of the dialogical process. One of the prime aims of the study is to transform Israeli educational reality through the development of a dialogical approach to pedagogy. It demonstrates how the implementation of these theories will help transform Israeli educational reality and narrow the sociocultural gap.

Statement of the problem. In the Industrial Revolution, machines replaced hand labor, producing the problem of unemployment. The factory system brought about excessive woman and child labor, starvation wages and sweatshops. Although some of these abuses were rectified by legislation, social reforms have not been able to resolve the problem of alienation. This alienation--the loss of identity or "self-hood"--has been the cardinal by-product of the Industrial Revolution. Labor became increasingly divided and specialized as the old crafts declined, thus destroying the economic and social base of the extended family. With the disappearance of crafts, the customs and skills that had passed on from one generation to another were also lost. This produced a break in the close bonds that had existed between young and old, especially undermining youth's respect for old age.

Industrialization not only cut off millions of persons from their traditional family roots but brought about a crucial change in human outlook on the world. For more than two millenia European men and women, searching for meaning in nature, assumed that they had found such meaning in myth and religion. Anthropology teaches us that primitive myths and the great ethical religions explain, and in their rituals, support a

basic solidarity of person with person, and of persons with nature. Once this integrative function of faith had been weakened or destroyed by science, secularism and industrialism, each person found him or herself truly alone. Meanwhile, the new material prosperity which developed from industrialization created an achievement-oriented society that has characterized Western societies since the Second World War,[6] and has contributed to personal isolation.

The Sociocultural Gap in Israel

Background of the problem. Developing countries usually adopted Western criteria as their own. Of these countries, the State of Israel--in attempting to compensate her people for 2,000 years of Exile--became, within about two decades, a microcosm of a Western, technological, achievement-oriented society.[7] Such a society contains all the advantages accruing from Western science and technology, as well as all of the problems deriving from inability to control the human environment as effectively as natural sciences have controlled the nonhuman environment.

Because Europe, rather than Africa or Asia, was the focal point of the scientific and industrial revolutions, the Zionist[8] movement originated there in the

nationalist movements of the 19th century. The founders of Zionism came from Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that from 1880 to 1948--the period of pre-State Zionist settlement in Palestine--that the cultural complexion of the Yishuv[9] was predominantly European in origin, with post-French Revolutionary values. The Zionist movement saw itself as a product of 19th century European nationalism, growing out of 18th century rationalism, and almost fully identified with the values of both. AS a result, it rejected, for the most part, its ancient Jewish heritage, however much this heritage has been the secret of national survival.[10]

Until 1789, Jews everywhere, in the Occident, as well as the Orient, had been united by their Torah,[11] the embodiment of the ancient heritage. Although there were various nuances in observance of the Torah's commandments, both the Mizraheem and the Ashkenazeem recognized the essential commonality in Torah values as their guide for daily living. However, after the French Revolution, these values began to disintegrate with the Jewish aspiration for equality within the European community. Such equality was often conditioned on almost total assimilation and acceptance of European values.[12]

The same process took place in the Mediterranean Basin, North Africa, and the Middle East, where European

colonial powers attempted to impose their values on the local population overtly. The unique position the Jew occupied in the Moslem host society, whether in the Mellah,[13] the village or in urban life, provided the colonial power with an opportunity to offer him special dispensations and positions previously unavailable, if he would modify his observance of Jewish tradition. An example of this approach was an indirect method used by the French in Salé, Morocco. Here, in 1913, two French schools were opened. The first was set up by the colonial administration for the children of the Moslem elite. The second, sponsored by L'Alliance Israélite Universelle (The Jewish Association of Paris) and operated with the support of the French government, was destined for children of the Jewish community in Salé. Both schools offered French education and the opportunity for graduates to be employed in administration, in the public sector or by European businessmen.[14] Despite the erosion of Jewish values and practices caused by the French colonial and "enlightened" Jewish establishments, Yehuda Nini sees this process in both its positive and negative aspects:

> Positive: . . . it laid the foundations for the growth of a Jewish intelligentsia with Western culture, and prepared the groundwork for the interesting and impressive rise of intellectual circles of the first order . . . within the Jewish communities of Moslem countries.
>
> Negative: L'Alliance Israélite also laid

> the foundations for the gradual break with Jewish tradition, in encouraging Jewish national identification as expressed by Zionism, and in preparing--psychologically--(the Mizrahee Jews) to see other Western countries as targets for immigration, and in so doing, ignoring the Land of Israel.[15]

The yearning to be accepted into the host society by the individual Jew,[16] both in the West and in the East,[17] was transferred to collective Zionist (and later, Israeli) ideology: "to be like all the nations." Thus, the Mizrahee Jews, upon their arrival in Israel, were psychologically and culturally prepared to emulate Western values. Finding such an environment there, they accepted it almost as a matter of course, since it was a logical continuation of their cultural situation in their country of origin.

Nevertheless, the Yishuv wished to create a new society there.[18] This wish, prompted by the persecution of Jews in Christian Europe, climaxed by the Holocaust, and by discrimination in Moslem Arab lands over the centuries, instilled in them the moral conviction that the Jewish people could only develop a free society if it were based on a cohesive social and spiritual life.[19] In such a system, each Jew had the opportunity to develop morally and materially. Such a society was inspired by teachers such as Martin Buber who pointed out that "the survival of the nation is nothing but a necessary premise.

But it must survive not for the sake of surviving . . . but in order to fulfill its vocation, in order to realize a great Jewish human community."[20]

The above ideals guided the Zionist settlers from 1880 to 1948. With the establishment of Israel in 1948, the fledgling state was flooded with Jewish refugees. A community of 650,000 souls (less than 15 percent of whom were of Mizrahee origin) enthusiastically welcomed a population of oleem (immigrants) more than twice their number (1,450,000) in a period of less than five years (1948-1953). Half of this number came from Europe, and half from Moslem countries in the Near East and North Africa. As Arnold Lewis points out,

> From the perspective of the Veterans, the immigrants divided into two major groups, Ashkenazi and Oriental. The former, survivors of the holocaust, were seen as suffering cousins who shared a common cultural heritage with their hosts. Many arrived in Israel with professional, white collar and mercantile skills which were very much in demand in the burgeoning national economy. After learning auxilliary social skills, most of these newcomers assimilated with the Veteran population to form the dominant segment in contemporary Israeli society.
>
> This has not been the fate of most immigrants from North Africa and the Near East. These persons were seen by the Veterans as socially backward and culturally primitive. Although they are Jews, Moslem culture greatly influenced their pre-Israeli way of life. Exposure to Western technology and ideas was marginal. . . . Arriving with neither capital nor valuable technical skills, most of these immigrants and their descendants have filled low status positions in the new society. . . . While accounting for half the Jewish

> population of contemporary Israel, they control relatively few economic, political and social resources. . . . Whereas high status Israeli communities are populated predominantly by Ashkenazim, residents of development towns and urban slums are mostly Oriental Jews.[21]

Lewis Heller and others stress that social inequality in Israel, especially between the Ashkenazeem and Mizraheem, blatantly contradicts and violates the egalitarian ideal,[22] which has been one of the central pillars of Zionism. The same paradox, with regard to the gap, exists in Kibbutz society. In order to reconcile this contradiction, the Israeli establishment has labelled the Mizraheem "culturally disadvantaged." As Lewis points out,

> Indeed, the term teounay tipuach--"in need of fostering"--has been added to the Hebrew language for this purpose. Thus, the low status of Oriental Jews is seen as reflecting a deficiency in the home life and values of these citizens. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education lists as one of its major aims, "To close the gap between the children of culturally deprived backgrounds and those that came from higher cultural milieu." Toward this goal, national government has promulgated an extensive and impressive array of educational services. Indeed, educational programs receive more public funding than any other service except for national defense. . . . Notwithstanding these efforts, recent statistical evidence indicates that the educational system is an element in sustaining rather than closing the social gap between Ashkenazi and Oriental Israelis.[23]

Before 1948, most of the early Zionist leaders who shaped the Yishuv had hailed from Russia. They formed the new society according to their own ideology

and background, and perceived all aspects of life according to the East European pattern familiar to them. Their ideology and social policies were consciously aimed at creating a unified nation. If they were partially aware of the fact that Jews of other countries differed in some ways, their notions of these differences were fairly ambiguous. With slight knowledge of Asian and African Jews, they felt the differences were marginal in light of the common historical past, the shared fate, and the common religious faith that bound all the Jews. Nevertheless, a process of splitting into two ethnic groups took place in the country.[24]

Did this split take place in modern Israel or did it occur previously, during the course of the two millenial dispersions of the Jewish people? Did these two major Jewish communities separate as far back as 70 C.E., or did they evolve as part of the demographic vicissitudes of the Diaspora? The following survey attempts to provide a number of answers to these questions.

The origins of the Mizraheem. Since the occupation of the lands of the ten Hebrew tribes--the Kingdom of Israel--by Assyria in 732 B.C.E., and the conquest of the two tribes of Judah by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., contingents of both populations were exiled and moved

into Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt. From these lands, as well as from Palestine itself, their progeny and later exiles went to other countries in Asia and Africa, including Persia, Syria, Turkey, the Arabian Peninsula and most of North Africa. For about two and a half thousand years, their descendants remained in different countries of the Near and Middle East, and in various parts of Central Asia. The Mizraheem of Israel are the modern descendants of the above migrations. They returned en masse to Israel after its establishment in 1948.

The origins of the Sepharadeem. When the Moors conquered Spain in the 8th century, a segment of the Mizrahee Jews migrated to the Iberian Peninsula. When the Spanish and Portuguese recaptured it several hundred years later, the Jews remained in the cities in which they had been living, and exchanged Hebrew for Spanish as their mother tongue. Expelled from Spain (Sepharad in Hebrew) and Portugal in the 15th century, as a result of the Catholic Inquisition, they settled mostly along the Mediterranean coast, and in Holland, England and their colonies, North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. Their descendants to this day are known as Sepharadee Jews or Sepharadeem.

Avineri points out that the term gradually came to include non-Western Jewish communities that had no

connection with Spain; e.g., Iraqi Jews are usually referred to as Sepharadeem. Stressing that "there is no one Sepharadic or Oriental community in Israel," he goes on to explain that

> there are Oriental communities, in the plural, and they differ markedly from one another. What distinguishes them are not only characteristics brought . . . from their countries of origin, but the difference between the high degree of literacy and almost Calvinistic . . . attitude towards work of the Yemenite artisans, and the generally lower levels of literacy, professional, traditional and economic motivation of the Moroccan community.[25]

Thus, today, in Israel, the Sepharadee Jews, as well as those from Moslem countries, are known both as Mizraheem and Sepharadeem. This interchanging nomenclature can be traced back to the four hundred year presence of the Ottomon Turks in the Land of Israel, which terminated in 1917.

All Sepharadeem were bound, in addition to country of origin and common religious traditions, by a common language, Ladino.[26] However, there were differences. The Sepharadic patriciate, for example, was a typical business and white collar community, centered uniquely in Jerusalem and in the prestigious Sepharadic Community Council. Dating from pre-Zionist days, the patriciate was well-entrenched in its upper middle-class ethos and affluent status. The education

and knowledge of languages of the Sepharadeem--mainly English, French and Arabic--made them much more suitable for the banking business, the legal profession and government service than the less well-educated and less sophisticated Eastern European haluzeem (pioneers). The latter, who were the predominant element among the third and fourth waves of immigration from Eastern Europe in the 1920's, were Socialists and petty shopkeepers. They were less attuned to the general manner of the British colonial administration than was the Sepharadee patriciate. "For these reasons," Avineri explains, "the Sepharadee patriciate also tended to stand aloof from the overall Zionist effort, based as this was on notions of revolutionary socialism and romantic nationalism that were quite foreign to it. The Eastern European Halutz . . . was looked down upon by this established class."[27]

After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Sepharadee patriciate retained two Knesset (Israel Parliament) members for the first few elections. Eventually the Sepharadeem joined their Ashkenazee peers within the major political parties, especially the bourgeois General Zionist Party. At the present time (1973) this group is well intermarried into the upper echelons of Israeli society.

However, the Sepharadee masses were quite different. Whereas the patriciate in Mandatory Palestine was Western-educated, socially well-placed and sophisticated, the Sepharadee masses were a poverty-stricken, under-educated group. Most of them led a very religious and traditional life. Like the religious pre-Zionist Ashkenazee groups, they remained outside Zionist secularism. But unlike the ultra-orthodox Ashkenazee who refuted Zionism, it took the national fate into its own hands instead of passively waiting for the Messiah to redeem the Jewish people. The populist religiosity of the Sepharadee masses brought many of them to identify with right-wing parties advocating militant nationalism.

It was not only the Sepharadee patriciate which was unable to identify with Labour Zionism. The Sepharadee masses, too, were unreachable due to their different life-styles, belief systems and the elements of social cohesion. A case in point was the efforts of Yitzhak ben-Zvi--Israel's second President--to build bridges between the Histadrut (Labour Federation) and the Sepharadee population during the Mandate, pre-State period. Most of these efforts met with failure.

By contrast, the Yemenite Jews, living for centuries as an isolated community[28] in southeast Arabia, came to the Land of Israel in 1882 on a wave of

revived messianic hopes. In 1910 several thousand made aliyah (immigration) to Palestine. Most of them were artisans and highly skilled craftsmen. Their integration into the Yishuv seems to have been much more successful than that of the Sepharadee masses. This has been attributed to the fact that their literacy rate was higher. Since they came to the country, armed with skills and crafts, it is no wonder that some of the best known popular artists of the Yishuv were Yemenites. This extended into the fields of song and dance. Yemenite folk dances, in addition to the Ashkenazee Hora folk dance, became an integral part of the new Zionist folk culture. Unlike the Sepharadeem, strong links were forged between the Yemenite Jews and the labor movement in Israel, despite the fact that they were, and still are, highly traditional, religious and patriarchal in their private lives.[29]

Origins of the Ashkenazeem. The Ashkenazee Jews originated in Babylon and Palestine, and moved to Central Europe with the expansion of the Roman Empire into that region on the European continent. They also settled in the early Slavonic principalities to the north of the Black Sea. About 1,000 C.E., large numbers of Jews moved to Eastern Europe. In the Middle Ages, a form of German dialect ("Yiddish") was adopted by all

of these Jewish communities. In this way they came to be called Ashkenazee (i.e., German--in Hebrew) Jews.[30]

Avineri stresses that among the Ashkenazee community in Israel today, there are many differences--"not only between the Central Europeans and the Eastern Europeans, but also among immigrants from Poland between the sophisticated, usually Polish-educated bourgeois . . . and those hailing from small towns of the Pale of Settlement, with their immediate Yiddishkeit (Jewish folklore) and populist-egalitarian traditions."[31]

The "Ashkenazation" of the Jewish people. Patai describes a unique demographic phenomenon which began almost a thousand years ago, and has sociocultural ramifications to this day in Israel, especially with regard to the gap:

> . . . about the year 1,000 C.E., when the total number of Jews in the world was one and a half million, ninety-five percent of all Jews were Sepharadi and Orientals. Thereafter, the number of Sepharadi and Oriental Jews remained roughly stationary (as did the Asian and African peoples), while that of the Ashkenazi Jews increased, at first slowly, then from about 1800 on--rapidly--paralleling the increase of the European peoples in the wake of the industrial revolution. Despite the terrible setback suffered by the Ashkenazi Jews . . . and . . . periodic bloodbaths, the numerical relation of the Ashkenazim to the other two divisions of the Jewish people has become practically reversed in the last 1,000 years. In 1939, before the German holocaust, the number of Ashkenazim was estimated at fifteen million while that of the Sepharadim and Oriental Jews, at one and a half million, or about the same as

it had been throughout the Middle Ages. . . .[32]

Demographic changes among the Ashkenazeem and Sepharadeem. Patai notes that after the first World War, the Ashkenazee birthrate decreased to the point of stultification. On the other hand, due to the very high infant and mortality rates of African and Asian peoples, their populations increased significantly. As a result, the number of Sepharadee and Mizrahee Jews doubled from 1945 (1,350,000) to 1973 (c. 2,700,000). It was during this period that Israel gathered most of the Mizraheem into the land of Israel, where they constituted, in 1973 about 60 percent of the total Jewish population of the country (about one and a half million people). Patai points out that in 1973

> . . . the birthrate and natural increase of the Ashkenazi sector are very low, while those of the Sepharadi-Oriental groups are very high. The Ashkenazi sector, barring aliyah, can be foreseen to remain stationary; the Sepharadi-Orientals, on the other hand, are rapidly increasing. Their high birthrate, coupled with low infant and general mortality (thanks to the excellent medical services available in Israel) resulted in the early 1970's in a natural increase which, if maintained, will lead to a doubling of their numbers within less than a generation. To this must be added the genetic results of the growing intermarriage rates between Ashkenazi and Sepharadi-Oriental Jews (close to 20 percent of all Jewish marriages in the early 1970's). The total genetic effect . . . is that the Sepharadi-Oriental sector is gradually . . . absorbing the Ashkenazi Jews of Israel.[33]

Cultural differences between Ashkenazeem and Mizraheem. Demographic and genetic differences are not the only distinguishing marks that divide Ashkenazeem from Mizraheem. Religion, culture and value differences also play a crucial role in stressing the uniqueness of each of the groups. Yet, at the same time, these very differences constitute common denominators. Whereas Yochanan Peres maintains that "The source of distinction between Ashkenazeem and Sepharadeem is actually religious,"[34] Abraham Heschel points out that the cultural distinction between the two groups is "a difference of form rather than a divergence of content."[35]

If a common Jewish culture did, indeed, over the centuries constitute the common denominator between the two groups in the Diaspora, the fact remains that such a culture failed to emerge in the course of three generations in modern Israel. The dominant European value system stifled difference and precluded the possibility of cultural pluralism. As Yochanan Peres points out,

> . . . as against the East-European tradition which has dominated the (non-religious) State schools, it is difficult to set up a parallel value structure. At the best, one can introduce extracts of folk-lore that would represent Jewish life in Kurdistan, Yemen, Iraq and Morocco.[36]

The full significance and impact of this conformity is felt in the second and/or the third

generation. It is then that these new "Israelis" consciously reject their ethnic and Jewish heritage, and there is no turning back. Peres explains how this comes about:

> The advocates of pluralism assume as self-evident that the various ethnic minorities are interested in preserving their special culture for generations. Research carried on in Israel has shown that the vast majority of second generationers are not interested in preserving any ethnic differences. Even if these declared attitudes are the results of consistent indoctrination by the various branches of the establishment, they are inadvertently a psychosocial fact in its own right.37

The cross-cultural gap. In view of the above, it is not surprising that the Ashkenazee establishment indoctrinated the new oleem--from both Western and Eastern--with their European-oriented way of life because historically Zionism was a creation of European Jews for European Jews.

After 1948, these same founders were in a position to govern free and independent Jewish subjects for the first time in two thousand years. They controlled the government bureaucracy, foreign policy, job distribution, allocation of the country's resources and formation of immigration policy. This situation, of course, tended to perpetuate the stratification pattern of the Yishuv in which Jews from Europe or the Americas were automatically ranked higher than those from Middle Eastern

countries. This ranking system also left its mark on integration, to the disadvantage of the Mizraheem.

Stratification can be thus explained as the result of pre-State leadership having been almost exclusively in Ashkenazee hands. However, discrimination against the Mizraheem--even if not overt--is expressed in several interlocking ways. The *a priori* prejudice that the Mizraheem are culturally deprived leads to a conscious denigration of their academic abilities at school. If Western-oriented school programs cause academic failure of Mizraheem (due to their poor self-image and the subsequent self-fulfilling prophecy, as well) then their chances for equal economic opportunity are fewer. When parents are in a low-income group or on social welfare, their child suffers from poor living conditions at home as well as from a poor self-image. He or she might well not finish elementary or high school due to the need of the family to supplement its income by sending the child out to work. Thus children become parents whom society sees as disadvantaged, and whose children will, in turn, see as an example which does not motivate them to learn and to succeed in life. Thus, this apparently inevitable vicious cycle perpetuates the gap.

What, after all, *has* been done to break this cycle

since the establishment of the State? Have educators, sociologists and social welfare workers been conscious of its existence?

Educational efforts to narrow the gap. Dr. Dan Ronen, former advisor to the previous Minister of Education, Aharon Yadlin, maintains that the Israeli educational establishment during the past thirty years has consciously attempted to implement many programs to help resolve the problem. Surveying Israeli education after thirty years of statehood, Ronen claims ". . . education in Israel can present a variegated, broad network of education--with many achievements--but also full of problems and difficulties."[38]

He points out that in 1948, 100,000 were learning within the framework of government schools. In 1978, this had increased tenfold, to one million. Those employed by educational institutions numbered 130,000 (nearly 10 percent of all those employed in the economy). In 1978, the government allocated about 11 percent of the total State budget for education. In 1949, the same budget constituted 6 percent of national expenditure.

According to Dr. Ronen, in order to understand the challenges facing Israeli education it should be noted that the parents' generation--and especially those

originating in Africa and Asia--lack formal education in the Western sense. Even today, about 11 percent of the Jewish population above the age of fourteen have not had any schooling or have finished only the fourth grade of elementary school. Almost 40 percent of the population do not have more than eight years of schooling. Among the Mizraheem, 27 percent lack formal education, and more than 60 percent have only elementary education. Among Ashkenazee Jews, only 9 percent do not have formal schooling, and about 40 percent have completed elementary school or less.

In view of the fact that until the 1979-80 school year free, compulsory education covered kindergarten through the ninth grade (after that date, free education was extended through all of high school), the following figures brought by Dr. Ronen in 1978 are very significant:

> . . . eighty-six percent of three year-olds attended pre-kindergarten nurseries, according to financial ability to pay. Ninety-six percent of four year-olds (still not in free-compulsory category to pay) also attended pre-kindergarten institutions.
>
> In 1976, eighty-four percent of 14-17 year olds studied within various high school frameworks. This number breaks down as follows: seventy seven percent learned without working, seven percent learned and worked, and eight percent worked and did not learn. About nine percent neither learned nor worked.[39]

Despite these achievements, he stresses two

challenges which should not be overlooked: the social challenge and the problem of values. Social problems have developed in Israel because of educational, social and economic gaps and differences in ways of life and cultural patterns among the various communities: between Mizrahee and Ashkenazee oleem and between the underprivileged and well-to-do sections of the Jewish population. The educational establishment has striven to intervene in the education and socialization of children and youth--the majority of whom are Mizraheem--by breaking their ties with their parents' underprivileged environment. This was undertaken in order to raise the educational standards of the entire population so as to achieve more equality and social integration.[40] The value challenge, Ronen notes, is expressed by educating in the spirit of Jewish and national values, humanistic and moral--in a society which is made up of a multitude of cultures. When these cultures interact, traditions are destroyed, the old is undermined and the new is yet to be crystallized.

Dr. Ronen goes on to survey three stages in modern Israel's history with regard to the educational establishment's view of the gap and possible solutions. During the first decade, the school population grew by 500 percent. There was a strong conviction that the

extension of an equal education to all Israeli children would solve all the problems within a few years. The second decade was typified by the trauma of the gap, after educational authorities had been convinced that educational equality had not solved the problem. This was the decade of variegated nurturing projects and of educational programs aimed at providing equal opportunities in education and integrating pupils socially. Programs were devised to provide compensation to pupils for what they lacked in home and community. This trend led to the formulation of the concept of taunei tipuach (in need of fostering)--a concept, according to Ronen, that indicates faith in the capability of educational transformation and in the potential of each individual, as opposed to concepts like "culturally deprived" used in other countries. The latter concept, he believes, describes a passive reality or even a certain degree of pessimism.[41]

During the third decade, a number of varied, differentiated programs providing individual attention for pupils from underprivileged families were put forward, as well as a number of teaching methods and educational technology. New factors were brought into the educational effort, such as social and community services, as well as the target population itself--

the disadvantaged--to solve their own problems.

The paradox: narrowing the gap worsens the problem. Dan Ronen points out:

> In Israel's elementary schools, more than 60 percent of all the pupils are of Mizrahee origin; in the universities, 15-17 percent. In a class starting in the 9th grade of high school, 7 percent of Asian-African origin earn a matriculation certificate, whereas 35 percent of the pupils of European-American origin earn the same certificate.
>
> The relatively low representation of pupils of (Islamic) origin in the higher stages of education does not prove . . . that the country of origin is the cause of the gaps. The gap is a result of historical conditions of life. But since most underprivileged come from Islamic countries, the mistaken impression that is created is of a causal link between ethnic origin and academic success . . . in elementary schools about 60 percent of pupils are Mizraheem but the percentage of "in need of fostering" is 42 percent.[42]

Ronen stresses that there is a general trend toward the closing of gaps. He brings, as an example of this trend, an increase in the number of Mizrahee high school students. In 1967, 36 percent of all high school pupils were Mizraheem. In 1976, they constituted 50 percent. In 1967, 12 percent received matriculation certificates whereas in 1975, 24 percent earned them. During this period, the percentage of Mizraheem in the general population rose from 46 to 56 percent.

High school drop-outs are also on the wane. In 1976, 41 percent of 8th grade Mizrahee graduates reached

the 12th grade, as compared with 23 percent of those who finished 8th grade in 1974. Most of the increase took place in the division of vocational-technological education. But the gap is still great; 50 percent of all 17-year-olds reach the 12th grade. And among all of the 12th graders, 35 percent are of Mizrahee origin (as compared with 63 percent in the first grade). Only 25 percent of Mizrahee pupils who began the 9th grade in academic high schools attain matriculation, compared with 50 percent of Ashkenazee pupils.[43]

Dr. Ronen concludes that "There is no doubt that a great deal of progress has been made with regard to the achievements[44] of Mizraheem compared to their situation in the past, but the gap still is prominent --and the comparison must be made between Mizraheem and and Ashkenazeem in the present." (Stress added.)[45] He also notes that:

> Paradoxically, the social advancement of a part of the Mizrahee population has worsened the problem in that a layer of bitterness has remained with those whose advancement and integration has been more problematic. Aliyah from the U.S.S.R., and to a certain extent from the U.S.--bringing academic and trained oleem--sharpened the problem, and the sense of frustration of the veteran oleem that remained on the margins of society. The "layer of bitterness" included about one-third of the Mizraheem in Israel who are in difficult economic straits.[46]

Integration--unsuccessful. Dr. Ronen, as well as others dealing with the problem, make no bones about the failure of the problem's resolution. To begin with, he explains that integration in Israel means the mixing of pupils from various ethnic groups within the classroom framework. The educational aims of integration are: 1. the raising of achievement standards of weak pupils; 2. raising standards of motivation and of self-image; 3. influencing pupils' points of view; and 3. improving relations between pupils.

Social integration was expected to bring about mutual acquaintance among the various ethnic groups. The Ministry of Education's data reveal that today, integration in the schools is not satisfactory. Its realization and implementation is impeded by: 1. the geographical spread of homogeneous and distant settlements; 2. the relatively high concentration of Mizrahee boys in religious government schools;[47] 3. the existence of various types of settlements with social philosophies aspiring to educate youth according to their unique way of life. On the other hand, several factors exist that are conducive to help bring about integration: 1. the various ethnic groups do not tend to isolate themselves--there is readiness for mutual contact; 2. there is a high rate of mobility with regard to

housing; 3. there is a relatively close proximity between the neighborhoods and settlements.

In research projects following up experiments to introduce integration into schools, it was found that integration as an educational means did not create any break-through. The hopes were not realized--but neither were the fears. Children from well-based families did not suffer a lowering of standards; pupils from under-privileged families made progress although the gap did not close very much. Integration did not increase tension among the ethnic groups, but did contribute value-wise, being both a means and a social end.[48]

Other educators such as Ackerman, Pelled, the sociologists Lissak and Lipset[49] and others tend to agree in principle with Ronen's general approach. Even Moseh Forte's relatively holistic approach, with many new ideas for implementation such as parent-school cooperation and socialization,[50] falls back into the traditional pattern of the Israeli educational establishment, that of imposing a monolithic, conformist value structure on all the ethnic groups in the name of national unity.

Heller sums up the problem succinctly:

> The Ministry of Education, despite the evidence of the alarmingly high rate of failure among children of Oriental parents,

> rejected the idea of special programs. But after the riots (of the Black Panthers in 1959), the Ministry decided on a number of measures. According to A. Klimberger, Professor of Comparative Education in the Hebrew University, these were administrative measures "designed to produce immediate effects by remedying the statistical appearance rather than the substance of the Oriental groups' educational disadvantage." (Stress added.)
>
> Worthy of note is that the children exposed to such programs are to this day labeled by the most progressive educators of Israel, including Prof. Kleimberger, as "culturally deprived," or from a "culturally impoverished environment," terms reflecting the bias of dominant Europeans.[51]

Thus the connection between school failure, ethnic origin and economic inequality provides the links that create the vicious cycle of fatalism and oppression. School failure and ethnic origin have been examined in relative detail. To gain optimal insight into the problem, economic inequality--with all of its ramifications--must also be studied.

Economic inequality: problem of income distribution. During the first decade of the State's history (1948-1958), 10 percent of Jewish families enjoyed 25 percent of all income, and this sum was fifteen times greater than what was earned by the lowest 10 percent. This relative equality was reflected by a number of factors --historical, such as a large amount of property income; policy, such as the progressive income tax implemented during that period.

The second decade saw a rise in the income gap, mainly as a result of basic economic forces. One of these forces was the ever-increasing influence that mass immigration exerted on the non-vocational work force. This factor was reflected in salaries during the early years.

Income distribution is inextricably tied to two concepts almost universally in use in Israel: the economic gap and the social gap. The first derives from differences in income, but it encompassed all activities, as well as the standard of living. The tremendous rise in the average standard of living affected all parts of the population. Each group improved its own standard of living, but human beings tend to check their relative situation, and not how their own intrinsic standard of living has been affected.

Housing is one of the criteria for a decent standard of living. From the early years of the State, the new oleem gradually passed from the stage of maabarot[52] to permanent housing built according to the standards of the fifties.[53] Immigrants arriving in Israel in recent years, who also receive assistance in obtaining housing, receive bigger and better apartments. This development has created an economic gap between veteran settlers and newcomers. As Avineiri points out,

> So long as the newcomers were more or less of the same social group as the slightly older immigrants, the ever-increasing financial help that Israel could afford to give to new immigrants did not vissibly irritate the older ones. But when new immigrants turned out to be relatively well-off Americans, or Russian Jews with pronounced middle-class tastes . . . the new housing put up for them and the sometimes very liberal loans granted to them by a government that felt it had to attract professional people from the West, became a symbol of the gap between the way Israel neglected its "forgotten 10 percent" and the zest with which it catered to the more well-to-do European-type immigrants, whether from the U.S. or the Soviet Union.[54]

Thus the economic gap became identified with the social gap, due to demographic structure and the differences in income. The low-income groups are made up mainly of Jews from Asia and Africa.

Nadav Halevi points out that:

> Several of these differences stem from economic factors; e.g., there is a strong link between income and education. Statistically, educational standards are much higher among Jews of European and American origin than that of the Oriental Jews. But the discovery of an economic explanation for the income gap does not cancel this gap, and does not diminish the social tension deriving from the recognition that income differences are linked to demography and culture.[55]

Henry Toledano reinforces Halevi's last two conclusions by providing detailed examples:

> Twenty percent of the Israeli population live below a narrowly defined poverty line, in crowded, highly dense housing, in slums, many without jobs. . . . Over 90 percent of this impoverished 20 percent are Orientals. Of those employed, the average income per family of those coming from East Europe, or the West, in 1968-69, was IL.1,116 as against

> IL.797 for those who hailed from Moslem lands. When one considers that the average Sepharadi family has 4.7 people while Ashkenazeem has only 2.9, the real gap is even greater. The real income of the Sepharadic family is, in fact, no more than 44 percent of that of the Ashkenazic . . .
>
> Jewish Oriental workers constitute only 34 percent of the total work force in Israel; yet 53 percent of the construction workers, 41 percent of the industrial workers and 48 percent in service jobs come from their ranks. This means that they are heavily concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, low in prestige and low in payment.
>
> On the other hand, they constitute only 16 percent of the total professional work force, only 19 percent of the white-collar workers, and 1-2 percent of high government positions. This means they have very little chance of affecting their own destiny . . . 40 percent of all government workers do not have a higher education. If the real criterion for holding government positions were education, one would expect, at least among these 40 percent without higher education, that the percentage of Sepharadim would be greater. Yet even within this 40 percent, the percentage of Sepharadim still wavers between 1 and 2 percent.[56]

Nadav Halevi stresses that during the third decade of statehood, an important development took place in the area of income distribution. Government payments increased--especially through National Insurance child bonuses. In this way, low income groups benefited from increased income--both relative and absolute.[57]

Israel's welfare policy; its implications with regard to the gap. Government welfare payments during the decade from 1967 to 1977 increased considerably. Their

ramifications on the social fabric of Israeli society are dealt with by Rafaela Bilsky, who makes some very significant comments on the problem. She points out that though Israel is a developed, industrial society, not all the sectors have been able to adapt themselves to the pace of social change. This process of social change must cope not only with social by-products of fast social change and modernization but also with the problem of a typical migrant society.

Dr. Bilsky goes on to explain that most of the Aliya from Asia and Africa were of a low socioeconomic level; many of whom were old, ill and without a trade. Attempts which were often made to assimilate quickly oleem from different cultures created new social problems because this assimilation was attempted into what was primarily an East European culture. The process of breaking traditional frameworks took place more quickly than their replacement with new frameworks and the adaptation of the oleem to them. Thus there was the need, over the years, to cope with objective problems of disadvantage such as income standards, academic standards and congestion in housing. In addition to these problems, those dealing with them had to attempt to prevent the creation of a subjective feeling of deprivation among Jews from Asia and Africa.[58]

Dr. Bilsky, referring to the Prime Minister's Committee's Report on Underprivileged Children and Youth, points out that there were 160,000 children in 1968 who came from underprivileged families. About 25,000 were from families in deep distress. The highest concentration of underprivileged children came from families of Asian and African origin; 92-94 percent came from these families. All of the children in deep distress came from families of Asian and African origin.[59]

Financial resources and organizational framework. Rafaela Bilsky presents the above data as facts of Israeli life, and she goes on to discuss the technical means at the disposal of Israel to remedy the problem. Although aware of negative by-products of welfare policy, she does not challenge or evaluate the very concept. Such an evaluation, indeed did take place at Tel Aviv University where an international conference was convoked, entitled: "Social Policy Evaluation: Health, Education and Welfare."[60] Such an evaluation is indispensable for Israel if the socio-cultural gap is to be resolved.

Nevertheless, in order to comprehend the magnitude of the problem, it is important to take note of Bilsky's explanation.

> In Israel, the Security Budget's size has a direct bearing on the government's ability to

> transfer funds for social needs. Even when the security budget was relatively small, it clearly influenced the financing of social projects. Since 1967, the National Institutions (the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organization) increased their part in the welfare expenditures. After the War of Attrition (1970), a meaningful increase in the welfare services took place. From 1972-75, social policy expenses rose from 28 percent to 31 percent, and its part in the G.N.P. increased from 19-26 percent. In 1973, due to the Yom Kippur War, welfare expenditures indeed decreased due to security costs, but the upward trend returned in 1974.[61]

Dr. Bilsky points out that the government and National Institutions are not the only financiers of relief services. Others include local councils and nonprofit organizations such as Kupat Holeem (the Sick Fund), universities, the Histadrut (Labour Federation) and voluntary bodies. Government ministries supplying welfare services are: the Ministry of Health, Education and Culture; Labour; National Insurance; Welfare; Absorption and Housing. These Ministries, in effect, determine the centralized welfare policy of Israel.

On the other hand, the Jewish Agency deals mainly with aliyah (immigration) and absorption. One of the history-making departments of the Jewish Agency--Aliyat Hanoar (Youth Aliyah)--has for many decades absorbed young immigrants in boarding schools run in the kibbutz spirit. Their graduates have become good citizens and leaders in all walks of life. With the

waning of mass immigration, Youth Aliyah turned inward to educate distressed, underprivileged youth. This effort has met with less success, although it has definitely prevented the deterioration of the education and civic functioning of thousands of young people.[62]

Rafaela Bilsky stresses that the ideology of relief in Israel maintains that its aim is not to diminish poverty but rather to increase equality, integration and solidarity, and to improve the quality of life. A consensus exists among all political parties--left and right, secular and religious--with regard to the three central aims of welfare policy: 1. concern for the standard of relief for the total population; 2. a mitigation of distress; 3. an attempt to narrow the sociocultural gap.

Elaborating on each aim, Dr. Bilsky points out that 1. In Israel, the State is seen as committed to supply specific services insuring income and social security. According to this conception, every Israeli citizen is eligible for certain services--gratis--or for a symbolic payment. 2. Mitigating distress: Bilsky explains that distress is determined by the definition of society with regard to the nature of the needs required for the existence and basic welfare of the individual. Therefore, a person is in distress--

according to this definition--if he is unable, by his own efforts, to supply himself and his family with those needs determined by such a definition. 3. Narrowing the gaps: there is a nebulous ideology as to the critical question: to what extent or to what point should gaps be narrowed? It is possible, Dr. Bilsky notes, that the reason for the lack of clarity derives from the fear that clarifying the aim would undermine the apolitical consensus existing today with regard to the problem.

Dr. Bilsky enumerates the following problems deriving from welfare policy as follows: 1. The universal method does not necessarily direct resources to the needy. 2. It must be determined whether this policy prefers the development of services or the granting of money. 3. The contact with the needy is impersonal. The policy creates dependence on the one hand, and exaggerated demand on the other.

She also points out that the essence of relative deprivation is that it is not necessarily a result of low socioeconomic situation but rather of a set of expectations in the comparison that a person makes between him or herself and other individuals.[63]

Conformity vs. Pluralism

Approaching education as a tool for social advancement, Shmuel Eisenstadt provides a sociological interpretation of these problems, elaborating on Bilsky's concept of "relative deprivation":

> With the expansion of education, those being educated began to feel they were being asked to participate more fully in society, and they had the right to participate. They hadn't had this feeling before to the same extent. Social unrest resulted. . . . The unrest is likely to grow because in the long run the higher strata have more to gain from the expansion of social services . . . than the lower strata. It is pointless to note that the lower strata receive more services than their parents or grandparents did. The important thing is that the institutional welfare state . . . does not have an automatic solution to these problems. It often intensifies them. . . . It is possible that, from an objective standpoint, the position of the underprivileged has improved, yet their sense of self-confidence and self-respect has been undermined, whilst previously it had held a certain base in their isolation from the center of society. It seems to me that in all modern welfare states the expansion of education, after a certain period, encourages the feeling in those who fail that they can blame only themselves. It is difficult to blame conditions, for in comparison with earlier generations things <u>have</u> improved, services <u>have</u> been expanded, apparently there <u>is</u> free competition. . . . Social policy envisages the expansion of education and its extension to all social strata, and their integration into more central social frameworks. Yet this has had the effect of perpetuating these frameworks and their trends of development.[64]

Shmuel Eisenstadt does not "think there is a cure-all" for these problems. Actually this is not surprising

if his analysis of the sociocultural gap is examined and understood. According to this point of view, the world is divided into two main camps: on the one hand, modern society, and on the other, traditional society or societies in transition. The latter are seen as societies undergoing the process of modernization. This process will ultimately bring the traditional and transitional societies to a standard of development similar to that of modern societies.

His argument runs like this: Whereas many of the oleem reaching Israel after the establishment of the State were of European origin, and the "absorption" process was sufficient for them, many others came from Asia and Africa, i.e., from traditional societies and societies in transition. For them absorption (a passive process) is not enough. What they need is a process of modernization. Svirsky and Katzir call this approach "absorption through modernization."[65]

Modernization is seen as an inevitable and one-directional process. Sooner or later the Mizraheem will arrive at the same values, behavior and achievement standards which characterize the Ashkenazeem. As a result the "ethnic problem" is seen as a temporary situation. By contact, learning and imitation, the norms and values of one sector are adopted by the other

sector. The Mizraheem see the process as one of de-socialization, i.e., the abandoning of traditional values and norms, and re-socialization into modern values and norms.

As to ethnicity, the Eisenstadt school sees in it a cultural heritage, a collective expression of pre-modern form. The assumption is that the more ethnicity is exposed to modernity, the more it weakens and dis-integrates. Therefore the problem is not seen as an ethnic one but one of social change. All this implies an additional, and perhaps a clinching assumption--that ethnicity is a characteristic of the Mizraheem. They are the "ethnics." As for the Ashkenazeem, since they are modern people in a modern society, it should be self-evident that they constitute and represent the "society."

The "absorption through modernization" approach constitutes the main school of thought within the political establishments in Israel. Both basically use the same assumptions with regard to the essence of relations between Mizraheem and Ashkenazeem. The one overall assumption of the Israeli establishment is that monolithic values and conformity constitute the pinnacle of culture toward which all should strive.

This stress on conformity by the European and

European-oriented ruling elite can be explained by the following paradox. Despite their disappointment with European post-French Revolutionary emancipation, the values of which demanded conformity[66] as the price for equality and integration into the European community, the Ashkenazeem founders of Israel continued to propagate these very values in their efforts to build an egalitarian, just society. Thus they could not tolerate any deviation from this monolithic world view--even if it expressed the very Jewish values that they had rejected several generations earlier in order to "buy" their emancipation.[67] Eliezer Schweid lends support to this approach by pointing out that the significance of the establishment of the State of Israel

> was not only the achievement of auto-emancipation in the national sense, but also the entrance of the vast majority of Jews from Arab countries into the process of emancipation in the Western sense. The painful truth is that Jews from Arab countries are still struggling to achieve emancipation within the State of Israel.[68]

When Schweid states that "Jews from Arab countries are still struggling to achieve emancipation within Israel," (stress added) he is actually describing a continuation of attempts to achieve equal rights which began in their countries of origin some 150 years ago. A more detailed description of this process in Moslem societies will be found in Chapter III.

Schweid and others who identify with and support the struggle "to achieve emancipation" naively believe that they are fighting for equality and freedom. However, they fail to realize that the values of emancipation and the Enlightenment (as shall be demonstrated in Chapter II) constitute a monolithic yardstick of Western civilization. They are still not aware of the fact that true equality can only be attained by mutual human and cultural respect, implemented through dialogue.[69] Thus they are supporting and perpetuating oppression--not liberation. These "liberals" and "progressives" of today are no different than the Ashkenazee pioneers of the Zionist movement and the founders of the Jewish State. They, as their predecessors, implicitly believe that post-French Revolutionary emancipation would award the Jews equality within the European community, as well as in Moslem countries influenced by European colonialism.

Paradoxically both European anti-semitism (e.g., the Dreyfus Case) and the "bear hug" of an open society convinced Jewish thinkers and leaders that Zionism and a Jewish commonwealth were the only possible solutions which would ensure Jewish physical survival on the one hand, and preserve creative Jewish identity on the other. Nevertheless, in the process of building the

Zionist movement, many European values of the Enlightenment were retained and became an integral part of Zionist, and later, Israeli value structure. After the establishment of the Jewish State in 1948, the same symptoms of alienation that characterized modern western culture and western-oriented societies, became part of the social fabric of Israel.

One of these symptoms was the monolithic value structure mentioned above. This structure was adopted by the Ashkenazee establishment. It did so due to its naive assumption that the western culture it was imposing on its Mizrahee brothers and sisters was for their benefit, i.e., for the good of the Mizraheem. Actually, the results proved the converse. By adopting the "melting pot" approach as the best method of absorbing the ingathered exiles, a sociocultural gap was created between the two sectors of the Jewish population.

Only when the Ashkenazeem (who, in the Freirian sense, are the "oppressors") become conscious of their own need to liberate themselves from their own alienation will they become aware of how they have caused the alienation of their Mizrahee brothers and sisters. Since to a great extent this alienation manifests itself in what has been considered "humanism,"

the Ashkenazeem must revolt against this "humanistic oppressor" and search for true humanistic values in Jewish identity. These Jewish values, when they are reconstructed according to the needs of modern society, will provide the cement between the Ashkenazeem and Sepharadeem, transforming both into a culturally strong and rich nation. Such a people, as Buber envisions, "must survive . . . in order to fulfill its vocation, in order to realize a great Jewish human community."[70] Such a community might well radiate its values outward--to the very world that had been its oppressor. In this way, internal liberation within the society of Israel, can constitute an example for others to follow. As Freire explains,

> This, then is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. Any attempt to "soften" the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed the attempt never goes beyond this. In order to <u>have</u> the continued opportunity to express their "generosity," the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this "generosity". . . . True generosity consists precisely in fighting to destroy the causes which nourish false charity. False charity constrains the fearful and subdued

> . . . to extend their trembling hands. True generosity lies in striving so that these hands --whether of individuals or of entire peoples --need be extended less and less in supplication so that more and more they become human hands which work, and working, transform the world. . . . Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? . . . They will not gain . . . liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through the recognition of the necessity to fight for it, and this fight . . . will actually constitute an act of love opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of the oppressor's violence . . .
>
> The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor . . . are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject the image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. . . . It is . . . the indispensable condition for the quest of human completion.[71]

Paulo Freire states that the oppressed "will not gain . . . liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it." In the case of Israel's socio-cultural gap the "oppressed" are at one and the same time both the Ashkenazee establishment and the Mizrahee (majority) sector of the Jewish population. The Ashkenazeem must liberate themselves from the alienation engendered by Western rationalism. An examination of the crisis of Western rationalism can facilitate a re-evaluation of Western values and lead to a search for viable philosophical alternatives.

Just as the impact of Western values on Western societies and on societies in transition must be

re-examined, so must their impact on Jewish values be re-evaluated by the Jews of Israel. Once the Ashkenazee establishment takes stock of itself vis-à-vis its own alienation--within the context of the Zionist transformation--its members will better understand themselves as "oppressed." They will also comprehend why and how they have become--albeit inadvertently--"oppressors." When they are aware of this, they will seek philosophical and operative alternatives to re-educate and humanize themselves and their oppressed Mizrahee brothers and sisters to reconstruct a socially just and culturally rich society.

The dialogical approach in education has its roots in the works of Paulo Freire and Martin Buber, both of whom offer dialogue as the process which produces the "subjectification" of human beings, as opposed to their present conditions of "objectification." Freire's three stages of consciousness--magical, naive and critical--have been imbued with Buber's added dimension of meaning, as expressed through his Biblical Humanism.

This synthesis should create a growing Jewish critical consciousness, leading to more human "subjectification" in Israel. Furthermore, it is hoped that this liberating process of dialogue will be

conducive to the reconstruction of Jewish values in the modern Jewish State. This rejuvenated Judaism will, it is proposed, form the basis for bridging the socio-cultural gap.

Despite a recognition of the fact that the human condition does not lend itself easily to change, various strategies to effect change are nevertheless formulated and presented. They are inspired by the dicta of both Freire and Shammai, respectively: ". . . true reflection leads to action,"[72] and "Say little and do much."[73] The proposed strategies have been drawn from modern dialogical theory, but they have also been interpreted in terms of traditional Jewish values. These values are embodied in what Buber calls, "Biblical Humanism." This is "the realization of the true communal living to which Israel was summoned by the Covenant with God . . . and by being involved in the development of humanity, Israel may attain its unimperiled existence, its true security."[74]

It is hoped that the implementation of such "communal living" and "development of humanity" will lead to a closing of the sociocultural gap, as well as to the improvement of the quality of life for all sectors of Israeli society. Although the universal humanistic principles described and then interpreted through

Jewish values are here channelled into a specific application, it is hoped that they can eventually find wider fields of implementation in other societies confronted with similar problems.

Scope and Direction of the Study

Significance of the study. The study seeks to contribute a theoretical rationale and a practical methodology for a society in transition from traditional to modern values. Whereas, until now, this transition was seen by the Israeli establishment as a need to negate the traditional values retained and practiced by the (Mizrahee) majority of the Jewish population in the course of their modernization, this study demonstrates that in Israel it is possible to develop a dynamic, modern, post-industrial society without dehumanizing individuals and cultural groups. On the contrary, the dialogical method, both as a process (means) and as an end, in combination with reconstructed Jewish values, will hopefully humanize parts of the various population. The liberating effect of dialogical education will shift the emphasis of the individual, as well as the group, from the goal of an achievement-oriented, competitive society to a cooperative one. As a result of this education, the

individual will introspectively dig down into the deepest well-springs of his or her being in order to realize a strong, autonomous self-hood. This self-realization will enable each person to contribute toward the creation of a just and cooperative society through the dialogical process.

This approach will help to abolish the dichotomy of the "advantaged" and the "disadvantaged." It will also eradicate the two present roles of the "givers" and the "takers"--the "haves" and the "have-nots"--"those that foster cultural values" and "those in need of fostering." This will come about because the common objective of all groups will be the transformation of Israeli society through the reconstruction of humanistic Jewish values in the spirit of cooperation. Freire's problem-posing educative process will be enhanced by exploring the traditional values of the Mizraheem on the one hand, and the scientific, technological values of the Ashkenazeem, on the other. But this inquiry will be carried out by <u>both</u> groups--together--in the spirit of Freire's <u>co-investigation</u>. In this way the specific group or its culture will not be the object of inquiry, but rather the sum total of all of Israel's cultures, ethnic and Jewish, will be the goal of research. Thus there will be no superior or inferior value systems but

rather a "treasure-house" of multicultures. In this way, "ethnic" consciousness-raising would not be encouraged. All "ethnic" groups would be encouraged to develop critical Jewish consciousness--pluralistically, with the ultimate aim of synthesizing all of their value systems into reconstructed Jewish values.

Within Israeli society no such theoretical approach nor practical methodology has been developed until now. These are the first of their kind.

With regard to some philosophical implications, the study offers an original juxtaposition of thinkers who have hitherto never been presented as related to the set of problems considered here. This juxtaposition reveals a common object of their thought.

The social implications offer a wide range of possibilities affecting possible long-range change in Israel's sociocultural reality. This is contingent, of course, upon the implementation of dialogical, consciousness-raising processes within education.

Pedagogical implications would be reflected in both the formal and non-formal spheres of education. This process would humanize student-teacher relationships as well as teacher-administrator, school-parents, school-community relations. Thus Israel's value structure, based on reconstructed Jewish values, would

constitute a common denominator for both Oriental and Occidental Jews, narrowing the sociocultural gap.

Design of the study. The study's design is based on the analysis of selected historical, philosophical, psychological and sociological literature, juxtaposing Positivism on the one hand, and Humanistic Judaism and Existentialism on the other.

An analysis of historical processes is indispensable for this study if the alienation of modern men and women in general, and that of Israelis, in particular, is to be understood. For this purpose, the world views of such historians and philosophers of history as Brinton, Talmon, Roszak, Ellul, y Gasset and Durant have been examined. In the realm of Jewish history, the works of Dubnov, Graetz, Baron, Hertzberger, Beer and Sachar have been used to understand the processes involved in the phenomena of Jewish exile, emancipation, cultural and national rebirth, as well as contemporary existential problems. In both spheres --the general and the Jewish--these writers attempt to understand and explain history through the eyes and needs of the individual human being vis-à-vis his or her environment.

This holistic approach to humanity is also reflected in the works of such philosophers as Cassirer,

Marcuse, Polanyi, Popper, Tillich, Jaspers, Buber, Freire and Heschel. These works constitute possible alternatives to Positivism.

Mannheim, Gordon, Peres and Eisenstadt are some of the sociologists examined in order to gain insight into the problem. Inasmuch as the problem is, by its very nature, cross-cultural, it should be noted that the views of these sociologists are generally western-oriented.

Anthropologists such as Mead, Radin, Williams, Shokeid, Middleton, Berry and Dason and ben-Shaul have been studied in order to strengthen the humanistic, holistic approach to humanity.

Educators such as Buber, Freire, Alschuler, Hill, Simon, Kholberg and Dewey have been consulted in order to attempt to implement philosophical humanism within the educational process.

In this study, the works of psychologists such as Fromm, Frankel, Rogers and Sullivan all contribute to the psychological base for humanistic education.

Analysis of research in anthropology, education and ethnic integration as reported by ben-Shaul, Shokeid, Barash and Marcus, Sharan and Amir in Israel, as well as Smith in Ecuador and Alschuler in Massachusetts schools, has also been used to substantiate positions set forth in this study.

Shlomo Sharan, Associate Professor in the University of Tel Aviv's School of Education, became deeply interested in the development of this study due to his many attempts, during the past decade, to introduce humanistic and cooperative education into Israel. These research projects were carried out in Israeli schools and on Israeli educational television.

This study has been conducted by analyzing and contrasting various theories, identifying missing factors within those theories, and attempting to provide those links through theoretical synthesis with original ideas. Possibilities for practical implementation in Israel are also posited.

Dr. David Harmon, former Director of the Hebrew University's Preparatory Institute for Culturally Deprived Students, Visiting Fellow of Harvard's School of Education and Staff Member of the Adult Education Association for World Education, was also consulted. He and Professor Sharan read the study, critiqued it and strongly expressed their convictions that good possibilities existed for the implementation of the ideas expressed herein.

Delimitation of the study. This study is not directed toward field research, statistical data or empirical

testing. The study is delimited to a theoretical analysis of the problem, the presentation of a new philosophy of education as a solution to the problem, and a strategy for practical implementation of the philosophy. Although the strategy involves adjustments in the areas of educational planning, policy, and administration, these areas are not discussed in detail in this study.

Definition of Terms

Dialogical: an adjective created from the noun "dialogue." This concept, according to Buber and Freire, transcends the conventional use of "dialogue" as oral or written conversation between two persons. They define dialogue as an awareness of mutual existence between two persons, an "acceptance of otherness" and a search for personal completion "which can be carried out only in communion with other . . . [persons]."[75]

Transculturation: the transfer of the values of a given culture to a group of people possessing other cultural values. This can be

done in various ways--by assimilation, acculturation, and others. Usually such methods, even one as euphemistic as "integration," essentially attempt (overtly or by the process of historical inertia) to substitute the values of one culture for those of another. This study attempts to effect the process of transculturation through the dialogical method, thus preventing coercive acculturation. In this way, genuine integration is effected. Definitions of this term are offered in Chapter III of this study by Spindler, Marcuse, Roszak et al.

Zionism: a state of emotional yearning by the Jewish People, after the destruction of the first Jewish State in 586 B.C.E., to return to the Land of Israel and rebuild it. This yearning returned, with greater strength, lasting almost 2,000 years, after the destruction of the second Jewish Commonwealth in 70 C.E. until it took the form of a modern political movement in 1897 under the leadership of Theodore

Herzl. The word was taken from the name of a small mount first captured by King David in southern Jerusalem, and has been synonymous with the Land of Israel ever since.[76]

B.C.: before the Christian Era.

C.E.: the Christian Era.

Labour Zionism: one of the dominant streams of political Zionism since the turn of the 20th century. The term is dealt with in more detail in Chapter III of this study.

Halutz: pioneer.

Judaism: the history and culture of the Jewish people dating back to the Biblical figure of Abraham and/or the historical ethnic group, the Habiru, emanating from Mesopotamia almost 4,000 years ago. Until 1789, Judaism was conceived by Jews and non-Jews alike as including both a unique nationhood and religious entity. The two were assumed to be indivisible.

Secular Judaism: a relatively new concept engendered by the Emancipation movement which derived from the results of the French Revolution in Europe. For the first time in Jewish history, Jews, and later non-Jews, divided Jewish peoplehood and culture into two entities--secular and religious.

Messiah: the promised deliverer of the Jewish people. The early Christians, essentially a Jewish sect, believed that Jesus was the Messiah but the Pharisees who were the dominant party and establishment in Jerusalem at that time envisioned the Messiah in a different context. Therefore, they rejected him. Since the Pharisees have constituted the dominant cultural stream in Jewish history to the present day, the Jewish People as a whole, also rejected Jesus as the Messiah. Since the advent of political Zionism, the concept of the Messiah has undergone change in secular circles--translating the supernatural deliverer into a

milieu (rather than a single person) created by human efforts alone.

Mizrahee - Oriental: Both the English word "Oriental" and the Hebrew equivalent "Mizrahee" denote Jews coming from Middle Eastern and North African countries to Israel. This term includes Sepharadeem (Jews of Spanish origin) emanating from the Iberian Peninsula, as well as from the Balkans.

Ashkenazee - Occidental - Western: The Hebrew term originally denoted Jews coming from Germany. Later it included Jews from Western Europe. More recently, it included East European Jews, as well as those emanating from English-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries around the world. The origins of both the Ashkenazee and the Mizrahee Jews are dealt with in depth in Chapter I of this study.

Oleh: "immigrant" is the English equivalent. However, in Hebrew culture, from

Biblical times, the term literally means, "one who ascends." It is not only a physical ascent but a spiritual and moral one, too. Thus an "emigrant" from Israel is called a "yored" (one who descends) for the same (opposite) reasons. The plural of oleh is oleem.

Kibbutz Galuyot (the Ingathering of the Exiles): A Biblical term denoting the return of the Jewish People to the Land of Israel during the Messianic period.

Absorption: the process of receiving new oleem, helping them to find employment, housing, et cetera. An important part of this process is to help them to learn the Hebrew language and culture.

Maabarot: transitory, temporary housing during the mass immigration to Israel during the early 1950's.

Yishuv: The Jewish community in British Mandatory Palestine between 1917 and 1948.

Sociocultural gap: in the case of Israel, the existence

of three gaps--economic, social and cultural--rolled into one, between the numerically dominant Mizraheem and the culturally dominant Ashkenazeem. Not all three gaps are always equal in reality or subjective intensity but one or all of them can, and do, create subjective feelings of deprivation. The term is dealt with in depth in Chapter I, as well as in other parts of this study.

Pale of Settlement: A limited strip of territory allotted to the Jews of Russia in the 19th century by the Czar for "living room." Within the Pale, the Jews were limited by further restrictions in various spheres of life.

Mellah: the equivalent of the European Ghetto in North Africa.

Ladino: A Spanish dialect spoken by Jews of Spanish and Balkan origin.

Yiddish: A German dialect spoken by Jews of German and European origin.

Teounei Tipuach: literally, "in need of fostering" equivalent to the Western term,

"culturally deprived."

Playing host to the oppressor: a concept created by Freire denoting a person's mental attitude toward the "oppressor" (specifically, from Freire's experience, the attitude of the compesino toward his landowner boss). This is the attitude of a person in which the "oppressor" is imitated to gain liberation. Freire's second stage of consciousness--the Naive Stage--is explained in more detail in Chapter I and in other parts of this study.

National Insurance: the equivalent of Social Security in the U.S.

Torah: that part of the Bible which contains the Five Books of Moses.

National Institutions: THREE ORGANIZATIONS under the aegis of the World Zionist Organization which facilitated Jewish cultural, social, political and economic life in Palestine in the Yishuv. These were: the Keren Hayesod (the Foundation Fund--the

Yishuv's economic arem), Keren Kayemet LeYisrael--for land reclamation) and Hasochnut HaYehudit (The Jewish Agency--the Yishuv's political and social arem).

Development Town: immigrant communities, planned from their inception by the national government. They are built and maintained with public funds.

Kibbutz: a communal living unit in which the work is divided equally among its members, the net product is shared by all, the food is shared in a communal dining room, and generally the infants are raised in an "infants' house."

Chapter Outline

I. THE SOCIOCULTURAL GAP: A CHALLENGE FOR ISRAELI EDUCATION

A. Israel's emulation of Western values due to Jewish secular leadership playing host to Western "oppressor" since French Enlightenment.

B. Problem: Cross-cultural gap and conflict in contemporary Israel especially as reflected in the educative process.

C. Proposed solution: Bridging the gap by reconstructing Jewish values in Israel through a dialogical approach to education based mainly on the philosophies and strategies of Martin Buber and Paulo Freire.

II. THE CRISIS OF WESTERN RATIONALISM

A. Modern Western man's alienation; its causes and origins.

B. Renaissance homocentricity: its impact on education and psychology.

C. Advocates of Reason, Science, Materialism and Technology; "Progress" as rationale for cultural superiority engendering paternalistic, prescriptive education.

D. Man's ostensible mastery over nature fails Educational ramifications.

E. Crisis necessitates reconsideration of Western value structure; requires a search for viable alternatives.

III. THE IMPACT OF WESTERN RATIONALISM ON JUDAISM

A. Jewish values as alternative to values of Enlightenment.

B. Erosion of Jewish values by the Enlightenment within European Jewry and among Oriental Jews living in the Mediterranean Basin.

C. Haskalah and Zionism as alternatives to traditional Judaism.

D. The Zionist transformation as reflected in Freire's "conscientizacao" and as interpreted by William Smith's coding categories. His schema has been modified by the addition of new "Prime-Heritage consciousness" stage.

E. The Israeli cross-cultural experience as a product of Western rationalism's impact on Judaism.

IV. PHILOSOPHICAL ALTERNATIVES TO WESTERN RATIONALISM

A. Modern man's interpretation of human existence: Positivism, Existentialism and Marxism.

B. Judaism as alternative interpretation of human existence.

C. Ruah'adama'muda (as a vision of dialogue): a reconstructed Jewish interpretation of existence, as alternative to Western Positivism.

D. The recognition of the centrality of the meaning of man's existence as a condition for realizing the vision of dialogue.

1. Meaning in creation
2. Meaning in man.
3. Language as human expression of living life.

E. Process in dialogue: Human existence implying

dialogue with man, world and God, as interpreted by P. Freire, Ortega y Gasset, M. Buber, M. Kaplan, M. Terry and traditional Judaism.

F. Conditions for dialogue

1. Faith
2. Humility
3. Trust
4. Hope
5. Love
6. Brith (Contract)

V. STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE: PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

A. Implementation of the vision of dialogue and strategies for change.

1. Reconstruction of Jewish values as common heritage to bridge sociocultural gap in Israel.
2. Re-interpretation of Jewish symbols necessary for reconstruction of Jewish values.

B. Educational approaches originating in "developing" countries, e.g., Tanzania, compared with evolution of Israeli approaches.

C. Strategies drawn from conceptual frameworks inspired by modern dialogical theory.

1. Reconstructing concept of "community" (Buber, Malkin, Nyere and Alperovitz).

2. HIPPY, Israeli pre-schooler project
3. Freire's "investigation of the generative theme.
4. Encounter methods: Gibs's TORI system and Hobart's stress on "autonomy" and "leadership."
5. Simon's "Values Clarification," reinforcing Freire's "reflection stage.
6. Alschuler's "Social Literacy" approach; its sub-strategy, the "stress hunt" as a method to decentralize educational bureaucracy and encourage dialogue at different hierarchical levels.
7. Williams' "suspension of cultural poltulates" to effect cross-cultural understanding.
8. "Regenerative Return"--new strategy as possible solution to problem of how to "suspend cultural postulates."

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

1. Recapitulation of four basic elements of study:
   a. Nature of western technological society evolving from Western Positivism; its impact on traditional Jewish humanistic values.

b. Process of transculturation in Israel and other western-oriented developing societies.

c. Reconstructed humanistic Jewish traditional values to facilitate a dialogical approach to education within the context of a western oriented society, based on philosophical alternatives.

d. Evaluation of the extent to which the process and goal of dialogue as an idealistic objective and strategy, can take place in a cynical, utilitarian and materialistic world.

B. Conclusions

1. Buber's Biblical Humanism as a viable alternative to Western Positivism. Ruah'adama' muda as the Vision of Dialogue's theoretical construct, offering a "whole" world view of person, meaning and existence. The work of Freire, Buber and others to substantiate humanistic Judaic approach.

2. Methodologically, the proposition that an Institute for Dialogical Education be established with the aid of a cadre of select, critically conscious educators to develop

theory, and through praxis, attempt to implement it.

3. Freirian process of reflection equally applied to Mizraheem and Ashkenazeem; both sides of the sociocultural gap.

C H A P T E R I I

THE CRISIS OF WESTERN RATIONALISM

Introduction

In order to understand the alienation of modern men and women, one must understand the nature of rationalism. Its sources can be traced to European Renaissance humanism engendering the French Enlightenment--all of which drew inspiration from Greek rational values.

This chapter will follow the development of these movements which swept through Europe, leading to the growth of scientific investigation. Such investigation was generated by the increasingly complex money economy which was run by capitalist entrepeneurs seeking innovation to expand their economic ventures. This process--the inventive, technological evolution--produced a cyclical multiplication of "things" which was, and still is, one of the indispensable conditions for the growth of science.

This study demonstrates how the development of empirical science created the "myth" of progress in the 18th century. This "myth" contained two elements--material improvement and moral betterment. Thus "progress," as a rationale for Western cultural superiority, was

established. The concept "progress" is here examined and critiqued from various points of view.

Behaviourism in psychology and in education is traced in this study to its rationalist roots, as objectively as possible. Nevertheless, in the course of this survey it is demonstrated that paternalistic, prescriptive education has resulted from a rationalistic approach, both on a macro (global) level and a micro (e.g., Israeli) plane in which "developed" countries or cultures see themselves as the paternalistic carriers of the (Western) civilization to "underdeveloped" ones.

The chapter concludes with an ecological challenge to Western materialistic culture, in an attempt to humanize it. Positive aspects of Rationalism, Science and Technology are examined as part of this challenge.

The Emergence of Reason

What then is the nature of rationalism? Descartes' definition is the most cryptic: "We ought never to allow ourselves to be persuaded of the truth of anything unless on the evidence of our Reason."[1]

Yaacov Talmon sees it as:

> . . . the result of the decline of the traditional order in Europe: religion lost its intellectual as well as its emotional hold; hierarchical feudalism disintegrated under the impact of social and economic factors; and the older conception of

> society based on status came to be replaced by the idea of the abstract, individual man.
>
> The rationalist idea substituted social utility for tradition as the main criterion of social institutions and values. It also suggested a form of social determinism, to which men are irresistibly driven, and which they are bound to accept one day. It thus postulated a single valid system, which would come into existence when everything not accounted for by reason and utility had been removed . . .
>
> The decline of religious authority implied the liberation of man's conscience, but it also implied something else. Religious ethics had to be speedily replaced by secular, social morality. With the rejection of the Church, and of transcendental justice, the State remained the sole source and sanction of morality. This was a matter of great importance, at a time when politics were considered indistinguishable from ethics. . . . The whole of virtue was summed up as conformity to the rationalist, natural pattern.[2]

Crane Brinton defines rationalism as

> . . . a cluster of ideas that add up to the belief that the universe works the way a man's mind works when he thinks logically and objectively; that therefore man can ultimately understand everything in his experience as he understands, for instance, a simple arithmetical or mechanical problem. . . . Rationalism tends to banish God and the supernatural from the universe. It has left only the natural, which the rationalist holds to be ultimately understandable, almost always by what most of us know as the methods of scientific investigation. . . . The scientist <u>as scientist</u> does not make any value judgments. . . . Science <u>as science</u> makes no attempt to answer--does not even ask--the Big Questions of human destiny, of Right and Wrong . . . of God's ways to man.[3]

The rationalism of the French Enlightenment was inspired by the "humanism" of the Renaissance in 15th century Europe. Who were the men who advocated "humanism?" They were a small, privileged group, devoted

to the Greeks and to Ciceronian Latin, and contemptuous of the Schoolmen. Some of them even damned the printing press as the vulgarization of learning.[4] As Crane Brinton stresses, the humanists "never completely emancipated themselves from the long medieval intellectual tradition of looking for authority."[5] Erasmus, More, Colet and others all came under Plato's influence. Yet, the assumption that they left one authority (Aristotle) for another, might be exaggerated.

The humanists' attraction to the ancient Greeks is not surprising if one considers the social and political structure of Athens. After Solon, Athens' first great lawgiver, who had substantially improved the state of the lower classes, Cleisthenes' constitution of 502 B.C.E. changed the political basis of suffrage from a tribal framework to professional and socioeconomic groupings: Athens' commercial class; the seafaring groups on the coast; and the landowners of the mountain and rural areas. As Butts points out,

> Thus, the basic forms of Greek democracy were established even though the aristocratic classes continued to hold a high place. Public officials were not paid a salary, and therefore it was largely the wealthy group who could afford to give full time to politics.[6]

Crane Brinton describes this brand of "humanism" as

> an attitude toward life that is fundamentally out of harmony with that side of democracy that is concerned with the common man, with the welfare of the masses. The artist, the man of letters of the Renaissance, believed in a privileged class of talent and intellect.7

Humanistic homocentricity. Homocentricity--one of the central pillars of the humanistic outlook--apparently derived nourishment from the fruit of Greek elitism mentioned by Butts. Although their rejection of the Church's authority and doctrines was less complete than that of the rationalists, the humanists also viewed man in a radically different light. Their homocentricity made them, as Brinton stresses, "great individualists as opposed to the timid conformists of the monkish Middle Ages; they were men who dared to be themselves, because they trusted in their own natural powers."[8]

However, as Werkmeister points out:

> Individualism in its extreme form--especially when combined with a distorted Darwinism--culminates in anarchy and a war of all against all. But even a restrained individualism--one which insists merely upon the self-sufficiency of the individual as such--can have only a fictitious basis. By taking the individual out of his humanly crucial contexts, it comprehends but a part of man and not the whole of his humanity. It fails to see that society is the very element within which man moves and has his being.

Crane Brinton describes a similar type of pseudo-humanistic value among the humanists of the 16th and 17th centuries:

> . . . the earlier men who went back to Greece and Rome found there freedom for the individual to be himself . . . the later men, for whom the first had made the way to Greece and Rome easy, indeed a part of ordinary schoolwork, found there discipline, quiet, order, simplicity. The first group tended to believe that the many would let the few be free to cultivate their uniqueness--or they were just not interested in the many; the second, who had known the horrors of the wars of religion, tended to worry a great deal about the masses and the ways of keeping them in a decent place--they were, in short, monarchists and authoritarians. But neither group was passionately and actively interested in . . . the democratic cause.[10]

"Humanism" engenders reason, science, materialism. The authoritarian humanists of the Renaissance were the products of the second Western crisis. Ortega y Gasset portrays them as ". . . dreaming of the life of the past, archaic, early and primitive . . . and even from all culture to what came before, to naked nature."[11]

This return to nature developed into a new science centered on human reason, and elaborated by Galileo, Spinoza, Leibniz and Descartes. There are those who maintain that this science, in turn, became a faith, replacing religious belief. Ortega y Gasset describes it as "the transition that man makes from a state of subscribing to the belief that God is truth, to one of believing that truth is science, human reason; hence the transition from Christianity to humanistic rationalism."[12]

Explaining what he calls, "the West's decline from its triumphal march to its present sickness," Solzhenitsyn attributes this decline to "rationalistic humanism." He claims that

> The mistake must be at the root . . . (An erroneous world view) became the basis for government and social science, and could be defined as rationalistic humanism or humanistic autonomy: the proclaimed and enforced autonomy of man from any higher force above him. It based modern Western civilization on the dangerous need to worship man and his material needs. However, in early democracies, as in American democracy at the time of its birth, all freedom was given to the individual conditionally, in the assumption of his constant religious responsibility. . . . The West ended up by truly enforcing human rights, sometimes even excessively, but man's sense of responsibility to God and society grew dimmer.[13]

Jaques Ellul points out that "Humanism is essentially a certain conception of man . . . a conception that involves contempt for man's inner life to the advantage of his sociological life, contempt for his moral and intellectual life to the advantage of his material life."[14]

Elaborating on this point, that of "quantity versus quality," Theodore Roszak stresses that "If conventional scholarship does touch . . . areas of human experience, it is . . . with the intention of compiling knowledge, not with the hope of salvaging value." He also attempts to trace the sources of

this "knowledge":

> Is not scientific knowledge . . . that residue which is left when all the myths have been filtered away? . . . this is exactly what distinguishes the scientific revolution of the modern West from all previous cultural transitions. In the past . . . the change . . . involved little more than a process of mythological transformation: a re-mythologizing of men's thinking. So the figure of Jesus stepped into the place prepared long since by the saviour figures of various pagan mystery cults . . .
>
> But science, we are to believe, does not re-mythologize life; it de-mythologizes. . . . With the advent of the scientific world view, indisputable truth takes the place of make-believe. . . . Science is the infidel to all gods in behalf of none. Thus there is no way around the painful dilemma in which the religious traditions of the world have found themselves trapped over the last two centuries: every culture that has invested its convictions in a temporal-physical mythology is doomed before the onslaught of the scientific unbeliever.[15]

Franklin Le Van Baumer also analyzes the significance of this so-called "new faith," and explains the ramification of the transition to it.

> Science . . . in the 17th century drove revealed Christianity out of the physical universe into the region of history and private morals. . . . Science invaded the schools, imposed literary canons, altered the world-picture of the philosophers, suggested new techniques to the social theorists. . . Certain extrascientific factors were plainly instrumental in causing so many people to be simultaneously interested in "nature," and moreover, to think about nature the way they did. . . . Medieval Christianity sponsored the Greek, as opposed to the primitive, idea of a rationally ordered universe which made the orderly investigation of nature seem possible. Scholasticism trained Western intellectuals in exact thinking. The Renaissance and the Protestant

> Reformation also prepared the ground for the scientific revolution--not by design, but as an indirect consequence of their thinking.[16]

Ortega y Gasset stresses that with Galileo's discovery of the "new science," human reason, men and women recovered their confidence and faith in themselves. However, what he fails to emphasize is that this renewed self-confidence contained two powerful elements: Greek homocentricity and the Christian sense of "mission." Both of these elements were the vessels of transformation through which Renaissance men and women passed into the people of the Enlightenment, and they reinforced the attributes of "authority" and "superiority" which characterized Rationalist practice.

Crane Brinton explains how these attributes affected 19th century thought and behavior:

> Darwin evolution was, for most educated men of the 19th century, a confirmation of the doctrine of progress, a strengthening of their inheritance from the Enlightenment. But it probably helped, as the century wore on, to add to the hold over their imagination of increasingly powerful ideas of national or racial superiority . . . the average Englishman or Frenchman probably made some adjustment (to enlightenment ideology) as this: Men are ultimately to be equals and brothers, and in the meantime the men of our nation can lead the less civilized to better things.[17]

Yaakov Talmon believes that the Enlightenment's view of "man" contained an inner contradiction--that of "freedom" versus "absolute purpose." Attempting to explain this paradox, he notes that

> The difficulty of reconciling freedom with the idea of an absolute purpose was "resolved by thinking not in terms of men as they are, but as they were meant to be, and would be, given the proper conditions." These conditions would be brought about by the vanguard of the enlightened. . . . The vanguard, acting as the trustee of posterity, is fully justified in using force and intimidation, in ignoring the apparent wishes of the people . . . all existing traditions, established institutions, etc. were to be overthrown and remade with the sole purpose of securing to man the totality of his rights and freedoms, and liberating him from all the dependence and effects of inequality. . . . The only true difference between men was that between the enlightened and the unenlightened. (Stress added.)[18]

Writing in the same vein, Collingwood adds the concept of what could be termed "ethnocentric conformity."

> Frenchmen . . . thought that the pleasantness of the life of any particular man varied, had always varied, and always would vary, in direct proportion to his resemblance to an 18th century Frenchman. (Stress added.) . . . What he failed to realize was, that different people might legitimately have different ideas as to what they would like to be. . . . The 19th century's believers in progress thought that external circumstances, by being better, made men better.

Collingwood lauds 19th century Europe for having abolished slavery and for having conceived of the idea of universal liberty; also for its advances in science and humanity. However, he emphasizes that the 19th century

> did not grasp the difference between being humane and moral . . . the self-complacency of the 19th century, being based on a high opinion of its own

> virtue, led it to wallow in the vice of priggishness.
>
> Goodness, like beauty and happiness, is not a product of civilization. A man's moral worth depends not on his circumstances but on the way in which he confronts them.[19]

In the attitude explained above by Talmon and Collingwood, one can discern the basis for the assumption of Western cultural superiority. Such an assumption is quite logical. Since science was a direct product of rationalism, and though it could include the most abstract concepts, it rested essentially on things, on facts and on many different material objects.[20] As Jaques Ellul points out,

> Reason . . . multiplies technical operations to a high degree of diversity. But it also operates in the opposite direction: it considers results and takes account of the fixed end of technique --efficiency. . . . And here reason appears in the guise of technique.[21]

Thus all those individuals and peoples who had no science, things, facts, material objects and technology were the unenlightened, the primitive and the technologically undeveloped. They were therefore inferior.

Progress as a Rationale for Cultural Superiority

The cumulative effect of discovery, investigation, the evolution of capitalism and the catalytic stimuli of wars--all leading to the growth of empirical science, on the one hand, and the dehumanization of man, on the

other--also created the myth of progress in the 18th century, just as the myth of science emerged out of the Renaissance, as described above by Ortega y Gasset. The European intellectuals of that century, the men and women of the Enlightenment, believed that reason could show them how to control nature, their environment and themselves. They marshalled evidence of progress in this direction by pointing to Galileo of 16th century Renaissance, to such 17th century scientists and philosophers as Newton and Descartes, and to 18th century economists as Adam Smith. They saw the Protestant Reformation primarily as the dissolvent of medieval authority, which was the first step in reaching what today has become the essence of modern philosophy--that all truth is relative. The Renaissance "humanists" believed that men and women make their standards, make their truth, and do not merely discover it. As Ellul points out, "Renaissance humanism believed not only in knowledge . . . but in the genuine supremacy of man over means."[22]

For the 18th century rationalist, the behavior of the material universe (in which man was to be placed) was explained by the work of scientists from Copernicus through Newton. By 1750, evidence of material progress was reflected in better roads, home improvements, and

even the first indications of the conquest of the air.[23]

Collingwood, on the other hand, maintains that real progress takes place when a person solves problems confronting him or her by creating "a new self."

> The objective bond of history is continuity. This means that the solution of one problem is itself the rise of the next. Man is not confronted by changing circumstances outside himself; or if he is, that belongs to mere externals of his life. The essential change is within himself; it is a change in his own habits . . . wants, . . . laws, beliefs . . . and feelings and valuations; . . . to meet a need itself arising essentially from within . . . his humanity consists in his self-consciousness, his power to mould his own nature . . .
>
> Man's action is the result of his dissatisfaction with himself as he is; the result of the action is the creation of a new self, and this new self gives rise to a new problem, each solved in the only way it can be solved, because solved by the output of all the powers at the agent's disposal, is the course of history . . . such a course of events may be truly called a progress, because it is going forward; it has direction.
>
> In its crudest form . . . the idea of progress would imply that throughout history man has been working at the same problem, and has been solving it better and better.[24]

Progress as modifier of human nature. Progress, however, brought not only material benefits. In addition, it was believed that if men and women molded their conduct in accordance with nature, then they would advance to a state of local happiness. How they were to mold their conduct was explained in a variety of ways, based on different assumptions about the nature of humanity. Whether it was Rousseau--the optimist,

Montesquieu, Locke, Owen or the utilitarian, measuring Bentham, all believed that reason could bring men and women to control their environment, as well as their own internal natures. This would be achieved through the liberation of the naturally good and reasonable human beings from the limitations of tradition and authority. Hobbes, however, did not believe that persons could control their own internal nature, since in the natural state there was a "war of every man against every man." Thus, in his Leviathan, Hobbes advocated absolute authority to protect "man" from himself. This led to a movement known as "enlightened despotism," the 20th century legacy of which are the totalitarian regimes, ranging from Fascism to Marxism.

R. S. Hartman, in his introduction to Hegel's Reason in History, does not agree that Hegel can be compared with Hobbes, "according to whom obedience to the state is the greatest civil duty." He claims that Hobbes' state was "a pragmatic institution to guarantee law and order," whereas the Hegelian state was a moral one. Hartman understands this state to be a "creation which gives the individual the field of action for his innate rational striving."[26] How does Hegel define "rational?" According to Hartman, he defines it as follows: "The laws of logic as those of the divine mind

are Reason. Since they are at the same time those of the world, all that is real is rational and all that is rational is real."[27]

Inasmuch as Hegel understands Reason to be "real," it is difficult to grasp how Hartman alludes such a liberal, positive interpretation to his concept of the "state." For Hegel himself declares that,

> The actual state is animated by this spirit in all its particular affairs, wars, institutions, etc. This spiritual content is something definite, firm, solid, completely exempt from caprice, the particularities, the whims of individuality, of chance. . . . It is one life in all, a grand object, a great purpose . . . on which depend all individual happiness and all private decisions. . . . All the value man has, all spiritual reality, he has only through the state. . . . For the True is the unity of the universal and particular will. And the universal in the state is in its laws, its universal and rational provisions. The state is the divine Idea as it exists on earth.[28]

In view of this elaborate definition of the Hegelian "state," it is not surprising that Hartman himself points out that "The most rational and religious philosopher, Hegel unchained the most irrational and irreligious movements--Fascism and Communism."[29]

Perhaps the above statement is substantiated by what Hegel calls "the various grades in the consciousness of freedom." He enumerates them as follows: ". . . the Orientals knew only that <u>one</u> is free, the Greeks and Romans that <u>some</u> are free, while we know

that all men, . . . as men, are free . . ."[30]

It would seem that Hegel not only reinforces Hobbes' concept of the "state," but perhaps even (inadvertently) provides the basis for a type of "racism" that was later concretized in the 20th century, as a by-product of his conception of Progress. Hartman challenges Hegel's "progress of Reason" when he concludes,

> This neglect of the intrinsic morality of man within the universal progress of Reason is the principal shortcoming of Hegel's philosophy of history. Its emphasis on freedom thus lacks a most obvious foundation. The humanity of man, the center of Hebrew-Christian religion, is seen in the organizational freedom of a state rather than in the privacy of man's conscience. What Hegel, mainly through Marx, has historically wrought, is an antithesis against the Middle Ages: social efficiency against Christian morality. The task of our time seems to be to bring about a synthesis of the two.[31]

However, Hobbes and Hegel were not the only spiritual fathers of 20th century totalitarianism. The 18th century myth of progress promulgated by the Enlightenment, in the wake of the growth of empirical science and the consequent cyclical multiplication of "things," created the economic ideology of laissez faire. When translated into reality, new forms of oppression arose to replace those of Feudalism. As Karl Mannheim points out,

> Every step in the concentration of the control of the material apparatus of society, as described by Karl Marx and Max Weber--the

> concentration of the means of production, as well as that of political and military weapons--is a growing threat to the dynamic principles of democratization and brings about the dominance of small minorities under capitalism as well as under communism.32

On the other hand, Locke believed in man's innate wisdom and reasonable common sense. Those who supported this approach offered a wide range of theories; from philosophical anarchy to democratic capitalism. However these two trends may be interpreted, Hobbes' absolutism and Locke's liberalism--stemming from the same historical-phenomenological source--it is evident that both firmly believed that Reason and the Enlightenment contained the seeds of human advancement.

Thus it would seem that "Progress" (in the material, as well as moral spheres) as a rationale for Western cultural superiority was established in the following manner: "Man," functioning within the material universe, using empirical technological "things," can control more and more of his environment. His amassment of "things" and mastery over nature endows him with an ever-growing measure of happiness. The results of this gradual progress towards a better life prove that Western culture is superior to all other cultures. Why? Because by the absence of the rational, scientific world view, these other cultures cannot survive in a world dominated by Western technology. By this same logic, it would be

concluded that they are inferior. To liberate them from their inferiority so as to ensure their physical survival, the West must "teach" them its superior values.[35]

Both the 18th century philosophers of the Enlightenment and their preformationist successors were characterized by a complacent, naive optimism regarding rational human behavior. As Talmon points out,

> The rationalist idea substituted social utility for tradition . . . which had been unnatural, and had to be replaced by uniform patterns which would be natural and rational. It also suggested a form of social determinism, to which men are irresistibly driven.[34]

But the assumptions about human behavior inspired by this view, prevailing in practically all schools of psychological thought, must also be questioned; for their emphasis is, on the whole, empirical.

Rational antecedents of behaviourism. Erich Fromm notes that the growth of the natural sciences also produced the new science of psychology. He points out that academic psychology,

> trying to imitate the natural sciences and laboratory methods of weighing and counting, dealt with everything except the soul . . . it was concerned with mechanisms, reactions, formations, instincts but not with the most specifically human phenomena: love, reason, conscience, values . . .[35]

Referring to the use of psychology in work situations, Jaques Ellul claims that the sole duty of the psychological counsellor is "to encourage the voicing

of complaints and to listen to them . . . suffering expressed is suffering relieved. . . . To let people talk quashes revolt."[36] Although it is doubtful whether this is the prime motive of psychologists involved in such situations, such "exploitation" undoubtedly does take place. On the contrary, most psychologists working with employees in industrial plants see themselves as agents who help employees overcome the humdrum and boredom of the assembly-line environment. Of course, in helping them to adjust to such an atmosphere, the psychologists are inadvertently aiding them to accept their work situation without protest, as inevitable. Thus, no attempts are made to transform or improve their reality.

Edmund Sullivan, addressing this same problem within the context of readiness in education, basically agrees with Fromm's analysis but points to contemporary social scientists, attacking the Behaviourist conception of "man." Sullivan offers the following alternative interpretations:

> . . . the use of the term psychology is a misnomer in much of what is now known as modern psychology. The study (logos) of the soul (psyche) from its Greek origins honoured a distinction or dualism between body and mind, but this distinction has been obliterated in many contemporary psychological theories . . . much of modern psychology has veered toward the explanation of all man's activities in naturalistic, mechanistic terms. The advent of behaviourism saw the total rejection of mind as

> a construct worthy of consideration, and with Watson, the proper study of psychology became man's observed behaviour. . . . Mind keeps creeping back, however, in the guise of intervening variables and hypothetical constructs . . . in the 1960's the view that psychology is a natural science has been the subject of attack by such theorists as Sigmund Koch (1964) who severely criticized Behaviourism in its explanation and conception of man. Chomsky (1968) has launched a similar attack on language development, and has rejected mechanical explanations of language acquisitions.[37]

Theodore Roszak, stressing the objectification of "man" when subjected to Behaviourist treatment notes that "as soon as the observer claims to be aware of nothing more than the behavioural surface of the observed, an invidious hierarchy is established which reduces the observed to a lower status, e.g.: a psychologist confronting his laboratory subject, a political scientist confronting his voting public or an anthropologist confronting a tribal group . . ."[38]

Edmund Sullivan presents an in-depth treatment of two conceptions of human development, the preformationistic and predeterministic. He refers to Piaget's stage model of cognitive development as "the most important contemporary theory with a posture toward predeterminism." In discussing the preformationist approach, he states that it holds that the basic properties and behavioural capacities of "man . . . do not undergo transformation over the life span, but exist preformed at birth."

On the other hand, Sullivan discusses modern-day educational approaches such as Behaviourism and Neo-Behaviourism, derived from the Tabula Rasa conception of development. These approaches are referred to as Tabula Rasa ("blank slate") because they emphasize the crucial role that the environment plays in the determination of developmental outcomes. This notion originated with the rationalist, John Locke. Yet, the extended version of the Tabula Rasa position, as developed by American Behaviourism, goes beyond environmental influences to deny, as Sullivan points out, all subjective experience and any developmental predispositions.[39]

Spindler contrasts Western cultures with traditional ones: "In the U.S. culture, people are supposed to make decisions on the basis of rational and practical considerations. Among the traditional ones, important decisions are made on the basis of dreams."[40]

"Behaviourism," as Sullivan has stressed, "denies all subjective experience." Thus it is not surprising that Behaviourism would mock dreams as a criterion for decision-making. However, Behavioural Analysis goes far beyond passive criticism. It is used by anthropologists, according to Spindler, to attempt to control behaviour by changing and shaping behaviour patterns.

However, Spindler goes on to describe the use of

Behavioural Analysis by (Western) governments in "developing" countries:

> Government change-agents, working in economic development programs in newly developing nations, find behavioural analysis a useful means for controlling the direction of change. . . . According to the proponents of this type of analyses, the same learning principles operate in all cultures, races and stages of the life cycle. The content of learning varies, however. What is rewarding in one culture may be averse in another. . . . When the proponents of behavioral analysis make statements such as the following, "The behavioral component of any development program consists of three major parts: the shaping of 'new' activities associated with industrialization, the maintenance of those 'old' actions which are a part of the process, and the extinction of incompatible behavior patterns," the anthropologist may begin to worry about the "colonizing" influences of a technically superior culture on a technically inferior culture.[41]

Although psychology, with the aid of such methods mentioned above, and its sister sciences, have found ways to alter behaviour patterns and have perhaps discovered many phenomena that further our understanding of human behaviour in general, they nevertheless have failed to provide us with tools to discover or formulate values. This has not yet been done through analysis of the self, or analysis of relationships. According to Jaques Ellul the converse is true. Quoting W. E. Moore, he maintains that with the development of technology human relations must become an integral part of the production cycle. Thus, individuals who are part of the industrial process must sustain only those human relationships which

relate to technical activity. Moore claims that human relations must be universal, "based on criteria . . . independently of prior social relations or prior membership in other groups unconnected with the work in hand." Ellul understands this to mean that technique constitutes the bond between persons. This bond, Moore says, must be conceived on a rational basis. It should not be disturbed by emotion. Therefore, these human relations must be impersonal, with subjective choice playing no role.

The absence of warm, vital human relations in this view is not limited to the production cycle outside the home. Within the family itself, dialogue has almost completely disappeared. Ellul explains this phenomenon by first pointing out that the modern passion for motion pictures is actually an escape from self. Whereas formerly human beings had dreams and hope, believing that "things would change and that hope was a beacon illuminating the future, in motion pictures . . . the future is not involved." Ellul stresses that "Dreams represent flight but flight into one's own self" but "the flight of cinematic dreams has nothing to do with the inner life; it concerns mere externals . . ."

If Ellul's analysis is true--through technique men and women have succeeded in escaping the fleeing from themselves, then how can they face each other, even

members of their own families? With what inner strength and identity? Ellul goes on to imply that if this were not a serious enough problem, along come the radio and television and "shut up the individual in an echoing mechanical universe in which he is alone. . . . Men become accustomed to listening to machines and talking to machines. . . . No more face-to-face encounters, no more dialogue . . ."[42]

Although less pessimistic than Ellul, Featherstone also recognizes the disintegration of the family structure as a result of modernization. He finds, however, solutions that have evolved as a result of the advent of technique--"the invention of new institutions to make up for the shattering of traditional ones." With regard to the "family" he sees it shifting in character

> from an economic unit of production to a unit of consumption, leisure and child-rearing. . . . Schools were part of the institutional response to modernity. Schools represented rationalizing progress in the minds of figures like Horace Mann; they were also meant as communal counterweights to imbalances of unchecked economic and technological change.[43]

On the other hand, Lipset sees no substitute for the family as the vehicle for values and education from one generation to another--not even the school. He recruits Plato, Rousseau and Owen, as well as modern research to strengthen his argument.

> As long as the family persists, said Plato, there is going to be hereditary inequality, because endemic in the value relationships in a common family--whether nuclear or extended--is the desire to pass on to those for whom you feel affection . . . the same value status you have yourself. Both Rousseau and Robert Owen reiterated this argument more than two millenia later. Sociological studies of education and class mobility, completed in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. and Israel in the last half dozen years, as well as in the U.S., have yielded highly similar results. They all indicate that family and neighborhood environment is far more important in affecting the capacity of youth to learn than anything done in school, including race or social class mixing.[44]

Despite differences of opinion as to why the family structure has weakened and as to the way the situation can be rectified, all agree that as a result the burden of responsibility has fallen on the educational process.

How has this process, influenced by post-rationalist philosophy, psychology and educational movements, dealt with this responsibility? For an answer to this question, we must examine those educational theories and their application derived from Rationalism and its scientific and technological handmaidens of the past two hundred years.

Three Educational Streams in Western Education

The Rationalist Movement has produced three broad educational streams in Western ideology: The first,

Romanticism, the 19th century discovery of the natural and inner self in which the school is child-centered, is a stream of thought originated by Rousseau (1712-1778).[45] He understood development to consist of a series of internally regulated sequential stages, transformed into one another in conformity with a pre-arranged order and design. This was the first clearly predeterministic theory of child development. It postulated that the child is innately good, and society innately evil, and that a less socially restrictive method of child rearing would result in the optimal realization of the individual's positive potential. Thus, the teacher's task is to provide optimum conditions for the predetermined growth pattern of the child. Neil's Summerhill experiment and Piaget's "stage development" theory are the contemporary formulations of this approach.

The second educational stream is that of Cultural Transmission. This trend is rooted in the classic academic traditions of Western education, and therefore is based on the assumption that education is the transmission of the culturally given. Within this stream there are two significant variations: the traditional academic school, which claims to be humanistic because it underscores the transmission of knowledge considered

to be central to Western culture, and the educational technology school, which stresses the transmission of skills and habits deemed necessary for adjustment to a technological society. This approach sees the school as society-centered.[46]

The third trend is labelled Progressive. It defines development as progression through invariant ordered sequential stages. The organizational and developmental force in the child's experience is his active thinking, stimulated by problematic, cognitive conflict. The educational goal is the eventual achievement of a higher level of development in adulthood. Dewey's "progressive" stream of education grew out of the pragmatic philosophies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The early 20th century "progressive" stream of education in the U.S. recognized the "problem of human freedom and spontaneity versus mass organization," and followed John Dewey's pragmatism which aimed at the attainment of a higher stage through the following notion: "Education is the work of supplying the conditions which will enable the psychical functions, as they successively arise, to mature and pass into higher functions in the freest and fullest manner."[47]

But if Yaakov Talmon's analysis is correct--that "the more cohesive the collective pattern, the freer

. . . will be the individual's self-expression"[48]--
then the following paradox will not be surprising:
Progressive education has stressed the development of
skills to enhance individuality, with the aim of
"adjusting" the individual to (American) society. In-
advertently and indirectly, in its attempt to foster
individuality, Dewey's system actually became a "means"
for adjustment to the conformist American society. Al-
though Progressivism relegated the teacher and "teach-
ing" to child-centered learning, the movement--
unawares--substituted society for the teacher as the
tool for disseminating its "superior" Western values.

All three educational trends emphasize "morality."
The Progressive theory sees its acquisition "as an
active change in patterns of response to problematic
rules." Morality is "justice, the reciprocity between
the individual and others in his social environment."[49]
To the extent that morality is important to its
promulgators, the Romantic School holds that the inner
"good" will emerge and the inner "bad" will come under
control. Thus, spontaneous tendencies are encouraged.

According to the ideology of cultural trans-
mission, not only is morality presented as inherently
sterile and anti-dynamic, but in its educational tech-
nology phase, it "uses" the child to reinforce his or

her image of oppression and its reality. Any skills developed for "adjustment" to any society, let alone a technological one, are destructive in that they foster acceptance of oppression (or at best, of the status quo). They reduce the child to "it," a thing, thus dehumanizing him or her.

Paternalistic, prescriptive education. If, indeed, society replaces the teacher as the tool for disseminating the values of the dominant culture in the context of "progressive" education, it does so even more within the context of the traditional, prescriptive educational process. At best, both streams are paternalistic. This is what Paulo Freire calls "extension." He explains that ". . . the basic objective of the extension agent, working on extension . . . is to try to change their (the peasants') 'knowledge' for . . . the knowledge of the extension agent."[50]

Although Freire is referring to Brazil in this quotation, some American educators find this concept at work in the United States. Carl Rosen states that,

> The opportunity offered to the child of poverty to change his circumstances by the traditional public school in the U.S. requires that the poverty student eventually break from his subculture and adjust his dress, language and behaviours to the social customs and

> expectations of the school, which are presented to him as being both superior and more desirable than those of his family and community. In this manner, generations of poor children have indeed been able, partially through such schools--or perhaps in spite of them--to achieve an economically and socially superior status to that of their parents. . . . Today, the majority of poverty children (in the U.S.) . . . have an infinitely more difficult state of affairs in operation. The far different past legacy of these people and the present mechanical, de-personalized and insensitive racist society perpetuates a poverty caste for people who are only a few generations removed from slavery and violent suppression.
>
> The schools of many such children maintain educational curricula unilaterally decided upon and adopted via state departments of education and school district central offices . . . re-gardless of their special backgrounds . . . (children are exposed to) textbooks which are rigidly utilized in standard curricula.[51]

Referring to the Israeli situation, Chaim Adler lists the principal a priori criteria used for integration into Israel's achievement-oriented society. "The following criteria may impede a child's chances for development in general and for scholastic success in particular. These characteristics are: a) a father's education b) family size c) housing conditions d) consumption standards." Adler concludes that ". . . in a more general way . . . the very high correlation between poverty, school failure, and ethnicity emerges again."[52]

Adler's fourth criterion is enthusiastically reiterated by Elad Pelled, a former Director-General

of the Ministry of Education. He points to a trend of increased consumption by the Orientals as an indication that the sociocultural gap is being narrowed.

> While it is true that there still exists a wide gap between the Oriental and Occidental population groups the following few statistics are ample evidence of the trends: a startling change in the possession and use of durable goods such as refrigerators, gas stoves and washing machines has occurred among the Oriental population. Refrigerator ownership rates have risen from 8 to 95 percent, gas stove possession from 14 to 90 percent and washing machines from 3 to 41 percent. . . . While these statistics and others like them indicate a trend in the desired direction they certainly do not mean that the current undertakings have succeeded. (Stress added.)

The reason that these "undertakings" have not necessarily succeeded is because the Israeli educational establishment is still not aware of the prime block to the narrowing of the gap. Better housing conditions are conducive, indeed, for more effective learning. But such improved conditions will not enhance an "oriental" (Mizrahee) child's chances to reach the same academic achievement level of her Ashkenazee brother if she is forced to think in European terms rather than those of her parents and forefathers. As Avraham Stahl points out,

> The teacher represents the culture of European Jewry--its concepts, customs and content; a large portion of the students are not familiar with this culture. About half of the students . . . are Mizraheem. The teacher does not take a positive attitude to the culture that the

> Mizrahee child brings with him from his home . . . and at times, he takes a negative attitude. . . . One of the negative phenomena resulting from this approach is the feeling of inferiority and self-effacement before the "higher" culture of European Jewry.[54]

If the "correlatory" approach of Adler, Pelled and others is to be properly understood, (including by the average Israeli teacher, described above), Western values--in their achievement oriented context--must first be understood. When such values become synonymous with cultural superiority, the above results are produced. These values, based on materialism and "things" have, in recent years, been challenged by Western thinkers and ecologists.

Mastery Over Nature Boomerangs

Erich Fromm challenges the concept of happiness based on "things" produced by man's mastery of nature, and taught as Western values:

> Happiness, the philosophies of the Enlightenment said, can be achieved only when man has achieved his inner freedom. . . . But in the last few generations the rationalism of the Enlightenment has undergone drastic change. Drunk with a new material prosperity and success in mastering nature, man no longer has considered himself the primary concern of life and theoretical inquiry. Reason as the means for discovering truth and penetrating the surface to the essence of phenomena has been relinquished for intellect as a mere instrument to manipulate things and men . . .[55]

Abraham Heschel analyzes the problem from a unique

vantage point, that of the "Architecture of Time":

> Technical civilization is man's conquest of space. It is a triumph frequently achieved by sacrificing an essential ingredient of existence, namely, time. In technical civilization, we expend time to gain space. To enhance our power in the world of space is our main objective. Yet to <u>have more</u> does not mean to <u>be more</u> . . . (Stress added.)[56]

Mark Terry explains ecologically why "things, when magnified . . . are a threat to our very lives."

> An animal's rate of metabolism, hence his consumption of materials and energy, varies from birth to death and from season to season. Human metabolic rates peak during the infant growth spurt and then the adolescent growth spurt. But our economy is based on the constant growth in consumption, regardless of metabolic fluctuations, that meet our artificial needs, both within an individual lifetime and between generations. . . had the rest of the animal world operated on such a consumption growth philosophy, there would never have been room for the merest beginning of human evolution.[57]

Terry continues to explain how humanity's ostensible mastery of nature is, as Heschel described "things," a forgery of happiness:

> . . . we are no less dependent on nature than when we began. In fact, the faster we have grown and the stronger we have gripped Earth's resources, the more intimately we have enmeshed ourselves in a less stable web. We are more vulnerable than ever to a collapse of any part of the natural system, since we depend on stretching that system to its unstable extremes.[58]

Almost forty years before Terry wrote his important work, Oswald Spengler vividly described the same process. He explicitly named it as one of the crucial factors causing the decline of the West. "Man," according to

Spengler, was evidently tired of merely having plants, animals and slaves to serve him; robbing Nature's treasure of metal and stone, wood and yarn, of managing her water in canals and wells, of breaking her resistance with ships and roads, bridges and tunnels and dams. Now he meant, not merely to plunder her of her materials, but to enslave and harness her very forces so as to multiply his own strength.[59]

Positive Aspects of Rationalism, Science and Technology

Up to this point, it would seem that Rationalism, engendering science and technology (generally equated with superior Western values), has imposed upon modern humanity the curse of alienation and ecological disaster; and is threatening outright total holocaust. By and large, this would seem to be true. However, there are several critical thinkers (outside the pale of behaviorists, technocrats, and others) who discern potential blessings in the rapid changes of the last two centuries. They see the results of the Enlightenment as a complex process from which people in finite but growing wisdom, can learn, benefit and build a better moral, as well as material life. In this chapter, this view is dealt with only in passing, in order to do justice to other approaches to Western rationalism.

However, it will be treated in depth in its proper setting, in Chapter IV--"Philosophical Alternatives to Western Rationalism."

Collingwood attributes the dissemination of the idea of progress in the 18th and 19th centuries to the development of historical studies ". . . and when people began to reap the fruit of these historical studies . . . it made sense. It had a plot . . . the various changes which it records are rational changes . . ." He points out that European thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries believed that "Human life had progressed from humble origins to a splendid maturity; and there was no reason why it should not continue to advance in the same direction."[60]

Nevertheless, in the late 18th century the legitimacy of science was challenged--both as an instrument of cognition and as a social institution. Leo Marx interprets "science as a mode of cognition" as the "conception of reality implicit in the scientific method adequate to our experience." He asks if, indeed, it is adequate. He then explains that "To question the legitimacy of science as an institution is to ask whether the methods and the products of scientific inquiry are compatible with the expressed and tacit goals of society," and asks: "Can the

technological consequences of scientific discovery be assimilated, e.g., to a more just, healthful and peaceful social order?"[61]

Before going on to the positive answers that Marx supplies to his own questions, it would be illuminating to examine Rousseau's attitude to this problem.

Although Collingwood states that Rousseau thought civilization to be a mistake,[62] Featherstone maintains that Rousseau agreed with Locke that experience, not tradition, was the great teacher, and that human beings were free, equal and rational. Rousseau insisted that there was a need for a new polity, culture and new ways of child-rearing to "neutralize acids of modernization."[63] This indicates that Rousseau, for lack of a solution, found only an ameliorative for modernization.

On the other hand, Featherstone states that Rousseau proposed a "norm of human possibility and natural growth" which, as a response to Locke, was

> the effort to rescue Western man from the nihilistic consequences of one version of modernity, the dualities imposed by 17th century science, which broke the world into rival realms of spirit and matter and suggested that the basic underlying reality was matter.[64]

Marx points out that the omission of "value" from the scientific context may be understood in different ways. He recalls that

> At the core of the romantic reaction . . . was a protest on behalf of the organic view of nature, and also a protest against the exclusion of value from the essence of matter-in-fact.
>
> "The exclusion of value" means that as a method of knowledge science lends insufficient expression to the distinctively human attributes of reality . . . but "exclusion of value" also may be taken as a reference to the negative social and political results of scientific neutrality . . . i.e., that scientists do not assume adequate responsibility for social consequences.[65]

Bronowski unreservedly relates both to the problem of "neutrality" and that of "value" in science. He declares that "Those who think that science is ethically neutral confuse the findings of science, which are, with the activity of science, which is not." (Stress added.)

"The values of science," he explains, "derive neither from the virtues of its members, nor from the finger-wagging codes of conduct by which every profession reminds itself to be good. They have grown out of the practice of science, because they are the inescapable conditions for its practice." He provides an example of how this comes about: "As a set of discoveries and devices, science has mastered nature; but it has been able to do so only because its values, which derive from its method, have formed those who practice it into a living, stable and incorruptible society."[66]

Marx brings Carlyle's critique of science, as well as his solution.

> According to Carlyle, culture is permeated by mechanical . . . thinking . . . it downgrades the sphere of moral, aesthetic, affective and imaginative . . . the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and infinite character. . . . His entire critique of science rests upon the conviction that we need to develop both of these "great departments of knowledge," and indeed "only in the right coordination of the two, and vigorous forwarding of both does our true line of action lie."[67]

Ralph Waldo Emerson defines Understanding as the capacity of mind which "adds, divides, combines, and measures," whereas Reason is an analogizing, intuitive mode of perception which "transfers all these lessons (of the empirical Understanding) into its own world of thought, by perceiving the analogy that marries Matter and Mind."[68]

In his preface to the Lyrical Ballads of 1880, Wordsworth, too, is optimistic about the future collaboration between science and poetry.[69]

Returning to Emerson, Marx explains the poet's transcendental philosophy as follows:

> Emerson . . . retained much of his Enlightenment faith in scientific progress, but expressed a characteristic post-Kantian skepticism about the sufficiency of practical reason . . . (and) since he regarded "Nature" as "the present expositor of the divine mind," he believed that knowledge, grounded in empirical facticity could, in theory, yield the kind of certainty and authority hitherto claimed for religious truth. But in order to satisfy the full range of human needs, it would be necessary to "marry" the neutral data to

> value-laden concepts arrived at by the other (intuitive, mythopoeic, holistic) way of knowing.[70]

Theodore Roszak also suggests synthesizing fact and value. He points out that the facts that "science reveals to us about nature should be called 'information' and the term 'knowledge' should be reserved for those holistic, often ecstatic syntheses of fact and value--of nature, spirit and self--which are properly called 'gnosis.'"[71]

Despite these four attempts to unite science and the humanities, "The anticipated marriage," as Leo Marx concludes, "of fact and value, matter and mind, did not occur."[72] One explanation of this phenomenon may be found in J. Bronowski's approach to the problem. He maintains that science's values derive from its method. Thus there is no need for synthesis. He equates the values of science with human values because

> human search and research is a learning by steps of which none is final, and the mistakes of one generation are rungs in the ladder, no less than their correction by the next. This is why the values of science turn out to be recognizably the human values: because scientists must be men, must be fallible, and yet as men must be willing and as a society must be organized to correct their errors.[73]

Bronowski stresses that the progress of science "has depended on the existence of a fellowship of scientists which is free, uninhibited and communicative.

. . . But if . . . science is to become affective as a public practice . . . it must protect independence. The safeguards which it must offer are patent: free inquiry, free thought, free speech, tolerance. . . . These freedoms of tolerance have never been notable in a dogmatic society, even when the dogma was Christian. They have been granted only when scientific thought flourished once before, in the youth of Greece."[74]

Thus Bronowski genuinely believes that science can and does realize Enlightenment values. As Collingwood declares: "The desires to speak your mind freely, to enlarge your knowledge, to take part in the direction of the common life, are characteristic of modern European man . . ."[75]

Bronowski maintains that social values are also inherent in science. He points out that,

> The fallacy which imprisons the positivist and the analyst is the assumption that he can test what is true and false without consulting anyone but himself. This of course prevents him from making any social judgment. Suppose then that we give up this assumption, and acknowledge that, even in the verification of the facts, we need the help of others. What follows? . . . it follows that there is a principle which binds society together, because without it the individual would be helpless to tell the true from the false. This principle is truthfulness. If we accept truth as an individual criterion, then we have also to make it the cement to hold society together . . . underlying this criterion there is a social nexus which alone makes verification possible. This nexus is held together by the obligation to tell the truth.

> Thus it follows that there is a social injunction implied in the positivist and analyst methods. This social axiom is that We OUGHT to act in such a way that what IS true can be verified to be so.[76]

Spindler uses anthropological criteria when viewing positively modernization, urbanization and technology.

> In the folk society the technical order is subordinate to the moral order. During the urbanization process, the old moral orders are shaken or destroyed. But there is a re-building of moral orders on new levels which results from the thinking of many different kinds of peoples. The kinds of men found in the cities--the administrative elite, the literate jurist with opportunities for reflection and cultivation of esoteric knowledge, the specialized artisan--are different from the peasant. They can spend time reflecting and looking inwards. . . . In civilization, the technical order becomes great but the moral order does not become small; . . .
>
> Toffler (1970) believes that "The super-industrial revolution can erase hunger, disease, ignorance, and brutality. Moreover, despite the pessimistic prophecies of the straight line thinkers, super-industrialism will not crush man into bleak and painful uniformity. In contrast, it will radiate new opportunities for personal growth, adventure and delight. It will be vividly colorful and amazingly open to individuality."[77]

Collingwood would seem to equate progress with a perennial "going forward." Although he makes a point of stating reservedly, "not a mechanical or automatic progress," he clearly declares that

> we don't revive the Greek city-state (because) . . . we think we can do better than that nowadays. To say that is to commit oneself to a doctrine of progress . . . which is nothing but the corporate life of mankind remembering and learning its own past; refraining from putting back the clock not because it cannot but because it will not, because it thinks the present, with

all its drawbacks, is better than anything it knows about the past.[78]

This might have served as an optimistic, provocative conclusion for this chapter, dealing with the crisis of Western rationalism. However, in the course of his attempt to set up a network of human values derived from science, Bronowski complacently makes several statements which bring us back full circle to the unresolved problem of Western rationalism. He blandly states, "science has mastered nature," without an ecological blink. The book was written in 1964, and it is strange that a sensitive, brilliant scientist such as Bronowski could omit ecological concerns in a work which did not attempt to flee challenges.

However, it is even more strange that when he attempts to open his book on a moral plane, implying (indirect) scientific responsibility for Nagasaki's destruction, as well as universal concern, he writes: "Men have been killed with weapons before now: what happened at Nagasaki was only more massive. . . . Nothing happened in 1945 except that we changed the scale of our indifference to man . . ."[79] Thus it would seem that those critics of science who claim that quality is traded for quantity are justified in their criticism. Once you have begun killing, another few hundred thousand or another six million[80] human beings do not

matter. Thus the "scale of our indifference" has been numbed into absolute amorality! Bronowski demands that we "acknowledge our subject for what it is: civilization face to face with its own implications." But where, in the whole of his book which describes "truth" and "social values" deriving from the scientific method itself, does he actually face up to those implications?

In view of both the critique of science and the naive attempts to defend it, the conclusion would seem to demand a re-evaluation of the entire Western value structure, and a search for viable alternatives.

One of these potential alternatives, Judaism, has been considerably eroded by Western values, and the following chapter will deal with this phenomenon in depth. Nevertheless, its erosion has produced a paradox--secular "Messianic" Zionism--carrying within it the seeds of reconstruction and rebirth.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN RATIONALISM ON JUDAISM

Introduction

Technology, and a re-evaluation of Western values, makes it essential to search for viable alternatives. One of these potential alternatives, Judaism, has been considerably eroded by Western values. In this chapter, Enlightenment values are compared with classical Jewish values. Since Jewish values were challenged by the impact of modernity and its "Emancipation" of Jews as individuals, Jewish thinkers of the last two centuries attempted to cope with the challenge by creating new religious and cultural movements within Judaism. Their world views and the subsequent movements are analyzed within the context of the development of the Jewish cultural renaissance, leading to political Zionism.

The evolution of secular Judaism is shown to be a part of the process of the erosion of Jewish values and Jewish communities in Europe as well as in the Mediterranean Basin. Secular Judaism destroyed the security of ancient customs and beliefs but also laid the foundations for a new Jewish culture. The various streams of political Zionism are surveyed within the context of nineteenth century European nationalism.

Paulo Freire's three stages of consciousness--the magical, naive and critical--are applied to the erosion of Jewish values, the development of secular Judaism and the Zionist transformation. This analysis assists in understanding the process involved in their evolution, as well as the Western-oriented society that has since developed in the State of Israel. Western education and elitism is also examined as part of the process engendering the sociocultural gap.

This understanding should assist the Ashkenazee establishment in Israel to take stock of itself and its values vis-à-vis its own alienation. When the members of this group discover their own oppression, they will comprehend why and how they have become, inadvertently, "oppressors" of their Mizrahee brothers and sisters. When they are aware of this, they will seek philosophical and operative alternatives to reeducate and humanize themselves and the Mizraheem. When this happens, they may together reconstruct a socially just and culturally rich society.

Jewish Values as Alternative to Values of Enlightenment

Salo Baron offers an alternative Jewish approach to the scientific conception of humanity's increasing dominion over nature, and to the serious consequences

described by Spengler and Terry. In the following excerpt, Baron indicates how different is the Jewish ideal from its scientific counterpart:

> While, according to the scientific view, man gradually masters the forces of nature and makes its laws subservient to his own equally natural needs, Isaiah's messianism preached the final transformation of the immutable laws of nature themselves. In the meantime, the Jew's ideal should be not mastery over nature, but independence of it, the achievement of supremacy over it by refusing to recognize its superior powers. . . . The evil is not nature as such, but its power over man. . . . The Law often demands this struggle of man against both external nature and undisciplined human nature, and in this struggle morality emerges. (Stress added.)[1]

In the same spirit, Abraham Heschel explains how Judaism attempts to help persons learn to transcend "things" by transferring natural phenomena from the realm of space to the realm of time. "The Bible," he says, "is more concerned with history than with geography. To understand the teaching of the Bible, one must accept its premise that . . . time has a significance and a sovereignty of its own." Heschel goes on to explain:

> There is no equivalent for the word "thing" in biblical Hebrew . . . an indication of an unwarped view of the world, of not equating reality (derived from the Latin word res, thing) with thinghood. . . . The festivals of ancient peoples were intimately linked with nature's seasons. . . . Thus the value of the festive day was determined by the things nature did or did not bring forth. In Judaism, Passover, originally a Spring

> festival, became a celebration of the Exodus from Egypt; the Feast of Weeks, an old harvest festival at the end of the wheat harvest . . . became the celebration of the day on which the Torah was given at Sinai; the Feast of Booths, an old festival of vintage . . . commemorates the dwelling of the Israelites in booths during their sojourn in the wilderness. . . . To Israel the unique events of historic time were spiritually more significant than the repetitive processes in the cycle of nature, even though physical sustenance depended on the latter. While the deities of other peoples were associated with places or things, the God of Israel was the God of events; the Redeemer from slavery, the Revealer of the Torah, manifesting himself in events of history rather than in things or places. Thus the faith in the unembodied, in the unimaginable was born.[2]

For thinkers of the Enlightenment, the "unimaginable" was conceptualized through Utopian deterministic schemes. They were to resolve such contradictions as class struggle vs. national unity, the uniqueness of a national tradition vs. the brotherhood of peoples, and others. The executors of these schemes were to be the vanguard of the enlightened, justified in using force and intimidation and in disregarding the wishes of the people. Eventually, the conflict between spontaneity and duty would disappear, and with it the need for coercion. This imagined "unimaginable" was called Political Messianism by Yaakov Talmon.[3]

By contrast, the "unimaginable" in Jewish Messianism was neither imminent nor deterministic. Its realization was contingent on the moral behaviour of

persons, on the keeping of the Brith (Covenant, i.e., the commandments of the Torah). This behaviour was not to be dictated by a vanguard of the enlightened but rather by all the people--"the men, women, children and the stranger within your gates . . ." This learning process was associated with inter-human relationships, as well as with human relationship to nature.

Both inter-human relationships and humanity's relationship with nature find expression in the Jewish conception of history. According to the Biblical conception, God reveals himself in unique events, in the world of struggle and change.

The Greeks, on the other hand, looked upon the world as always following the same rational scheme as the rotation of the seasons. The world for them was a natural process. The religious Hindu regards the world of sense experience as an illusion, seeking to escape from life to integrate with the World-Soul, Brahma. Both approaches--rational contemplation and mystic ascent--carry their believers beyond the flow of events, i.e., history.[4]

Comparing the two world views, Huston Smith explores the problem of "meaning in history." He asks:

> What is at stake when we ask if there is meaning in history? At stake is our whole attitude toward the

> social order and man's collective life. If we decide that history is meaningless, it follows that the social, political and cultural contexts of life are important. . . . The Jewish estimate of history was the exact opposite of this attitude. . . . To the Jews history was of towering significance . . . convinced that the context in which life is lived affects that life in every way setting up its problems, delineating its opportunities, conditioning its fulfillment. . . . History was important for the Jews because they saw it, always, as a field of opportunity. God was the ruler of history; nothing, therefore, happened by accident . . . history was important because . . . each opportunity was unique. . . . One must, therefore, attend to history carefully, for when opportunities pass they are gone.
>
> This uniqueness in events is epitomized in the Hebraic notions a) of God's direct intervention in history at certain critical points and b) of a chosen people as recipients of his unique challenges . . .[5]

Ethical values. Since the People of Israel was chosen, through the Brith (Covenant) to be a Holy Nation, the Bible demands that every human being perform the good deed, and behave ethically within the context of human relationships. This approach is unlike the Greek ethical system, which seeks to define the various virtues--courage, generosity, justice, et cetera. Thus, as Licht and Neher point out, "The Bible places the ethical demand at the focus of the religious and the national culture."[6]

In order to reach ethical perfection, Judaism utilizes man's primal instincts for ethical purposes--even those motivated by his ego. Federbush explains

that,

> Christianity taught "mortification of the flesh," uprooting from the heart natural dispositions, and was unsuccessful. Judaism teaches, not war against human nature, but purifying and sublimating them into means of ethical perfection. This idea is ably expressed in the Mishna: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy G-d, with thy two instincts, the good and the bad." (Brachot, 54, Babylonian Talmud)[7]

This anticipated ethical behaviour is to bring about justice in society. However, as Schwarzschild explains,

> Jewish justice is different from the classic philosophic (Greek-Western) view of this concept. In the latter, justice is generally considered under the headings of "distributive" and "retributive" . . . but while (these) are essentially procedural principles (i.e., how to do things), Jewish justice is essentially substantive (i.e., what human life should be like). Substantive justice depends on an ultimate . . . value commitment. . . . Thus it suffuses all human relations and social institutions . . .[8]

Whereas modern technology has effected the complete separation of thought and action,[9] the Hebrew man or woman has always been educated towards the realization of ethical perfection in the spirit of the Mishaic injunction, "The chief thing is not to study but to do." (Avot 1:17)

This (Jewish) approach is diametrically opposed to Greek thinking, especially Aristotelian logic. On the other hand, the Hebrew stress on action is closer to <u>paradoxical logic</u>, dominant in Chinese and Indian thinking, and more recently, under the name of

dialectics--the philosophy of Hegel and of Marx. As Erich Fromm points out:

> The teachers of paradoxical logic say that man can perceive reality only in contradictions, and can never perceive in thought the ultimate reality-unity, the One itself. This led to the consequence that one did not seek as the ultimate aim to find the answer in thought. Thought . . . cannot give us the ultimate answer. The world of thought remains caught in the paradox. The only way the world can be grasped ultimately lies . . . in the act, in the experience of oneness . . .
>
> This leads to the emphasis on the right way of living. This can be clearly seen in Oriental religions . . . the ultimate aim of religion is not the right belief, but the right action. . . . The emphasis of the Jewish religion was on the right way of living, the Halacha (this word actually having the same meaning as the Tao). . . . the paradoxical standpoint led to the emphasis . . . in modern history . . . on transforming man, rather than to the development of dogma (the Catholic Church) . . . and science (the discovery of atomic energy).[10]

Attacking "science" and "dogma" as modern manifestations of idolatry, Theodore Roszak declares that "As a phase in the history of consciousness, the building of the artificial environment may be best understood as an ever deepening condition of idolatry."[11] Faur, Bacon and Rabinowitz stress that "The Bible conceives idolatry not merely as the worshiping of images but as the worship of anything, real or imaginary, other than God himself."[12] Thus Roszak's modern interpretation of this type of worship would be included in Biblical commentary. Kurzweil,

however, goes even further. He points out that ". . . idolatry has not disappeared. It was not limited to the Baal or Ishtar or the Molech; idolatry exists in every generation. . . . Idolatry is raising a limited, temporary value to the status of the absolute." (Stress added.)[13] In another context, Roszak returns to the period of the Baal, analyzing the idolatry of images in order to project them onto scientific specialization:

> . . . it was inevitable that the Jew . . . should view traditional worship of infidels as debased. For what were the infidels' gods? Mere things, natural objects in the world, minute in relationship to all earth and heavens, time bound and perishable, vulnerable . . .[14]

Transferring "minute in relationship" to modern, objective science, Roszak lists the minutiae constituting the knowledge of modern man by treating the world objectively. He maintains that this knowledge is obtained by

> scrutinizing the detailed minutiae of experience and ignoring the whole that gives the constituent parts their greater meaning, by scrutinizing the trees and ignoring the forest, by scrutinizing the cells and ignoring the organism. . . . We accumulate knowledge like the miser who interprets wealth as a maniacal acquisition plus tenacious possession; but we bankrupt our capacity to be wonderstruck . . .[15]

Placing "wonder" in counterposition with "idolatry," Roszak actually identifies "wonder" with holiness. Quoting William Blake, he reinforces this

view: "What," it will be questioned, "when the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea? O no, no. I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty!"[16] However, in the following critique of Lactantius, he modifies his conception of holiness although the element of wonder and enchantment is also to be found there.

> . . . the 14th century Christian polemicist, Lactantius, in his Divine Institutes . . . does not locate man inside the inanimate world; rather, in an ultimate expression of human estrangement, he concludes that man is existentially outside nature and only temporarily in residence during his mortal life. . . . This is a fateful ontology. Pressed to its ultimate conclusion, it yields a world in which nothing can be sacred or companionable, a world disenchanted . . . into which man has been intruded like a cosmic freak . . .[17]

Sanctity as social consciousness. Roszak, Ellul and other critics of science and technology decry the absence of wonder as expressed in poetry and art, and identify the aesthetic with sanctity. However, the Bible equates justice with holiness.[18] Both can be realized only through action and right living--through the observance of the commandments of the Torah, the Mitzvot. The abstract sanctity of God is to be emulated by the Israelites: "You be holy because I am holy." Some examples of these Mitzvot--all social

in character--follow, and indicate the Jewish conception of sanctity.[19]

> It is forbidden to defraud with weights and measures . . .
> Do not oppress your neighbour and do not rob him . . .
> Do not curse the deaf, and do not put an obstacle before a blind man.
> Do not gossip; Do not hate your brother in your heart, reprove him but do not sin to him.
> Observe my Sabbaths. . . . Do not seek revenge . . .
> Do not desecrate your daughter by turning her into a prostitute.
> Do not oppress the stranger living with you in your land.
> You must help unload the donkey of your enemy if his burden is heavy. (Ex. 23:5)
> Do not hate an Amoni because he is your brother. Do not hate an Egyptian because you were a stranger in his land.
> Love your neighbour as yourself, I am God.
> If a man lies with an indentured maidservant, he owes a sin offering.[20]

In order to be holy and carry out these Mitzvot, one must be "whole" physically. The Torah expressed great concern about health and the sanctity of human life. Some of the commandments reflecting this concern are:

> Do not tatoo yourself in the manner of idolators. (Lev. 19:28)
> Do not lacerate yourself over your dead. (Deut. 16:1; 14:1)
> Do not sacrifice children to the Molech. (Lev. 18:21)
> . . . to destroy a single life is to destroy a whole world. (Sanh. 4:5)
> . . . nor may you shave (with a razor) the sides of your head or your beard. (Lev. 19:27)

"Regard for human life" (Pikuach Nefesh) is the rabbinical term used to save human life when it is

threatened. In Lev., 19:16 we read: "Neither shall you stand idly by the blood of your neighbour," and according to the Talmud, it supersedes Sabbath. (Yoma 85a)

Although down through the ages the observance of the laws of the Torah were usually strictly enforced--even in the Diaspora without a sovereign Jewish government--the elected and appointed sages of the various Jewish communities throughout the world were very sensitive about the sanctity of human life. This was based on the following two sources:

> One should be more particular about matters concerning danger to health and life than about ritual observances. (Hul 10a)
> The Rabbis interpreted the verse "Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my ordinances which if a man do he shall live by them." (Lev. 18:5), that man shall "live by these commandments, and not die as a result of observing them. (Yoma 85b; Sanh. 74a)[21]

On the other hand, the "Sanctification of God's Name" (Jewish martyrdom) takes precedence over the sanctity of life only when a Jew is forced to commit idolatry, unlawful sexual intercourse or murder. (Sanh. 74a-b) This also holds true for a renunciation of faith through the public violation of any of the Torah's laws. (Sanh. 74a-b; Sh.Ar., YD 157)

These last two causes for martyrdom were actually realized--individually and <u>en masse</u> many times throughout Jewish history. Three prominent examples were: under

Roman rule in Judaea, during the Crusades in Europe and at the stake in the Spanish Inquisition.[22]

Perhaps this paradoxical phenomenon--the role of the Jewish martyr sanctifying life in defiance of death --can be better understood if the significance of a God-created universe and life is comprehended. Huston Smith points out that

> . . . the worth of a . . . God-created universe and life . . . concerns us profoundly. Everyone at times . . . asks whether life is worthwhile. . . . Those who conclude it isn't give up . . . by suicide . . . defeatism . . . and despair. Now, . . . God . . . means a being in whom power and value converge, a being who can do what he wants to do and who wants to do what is good. In this sense to affirm that existence is God-created is to affirm its enduring worth. . . . In this sense, the Jewish affirmation that the world was God-created laid a central plank in their outlook . . . however desperate their lot . . . they never despaired of life itself. Meaning was . . . latent and the opportunity for creative response always at hand.[23]

Freedom vs. slavery. Another dimension of concern with human life is the quality of life--how a person carries him or herself in society--his or her dignity and rights, commitments and duties. The Jewish attitude toward slavery, as well as its concept of labor reflect this concern. As Federbush explains,

> The Torah which views all men as equals, as children of "the one G-d who has created us," was also the great opponent of slavery. . . . The Torah emphasized at every opportunity that the very creation of the Hebrew nation was a direct result of opposition to ancient slavery, and that the nation which itself experienced . . .

> enslavement must oppose . . . deprivation of another human's freedom.[24]

Comparing Greek treatment of slaves--reflected in their ancient literature--with the Biblical attitude, Federbush describes the destruction of uneconomic sick and aged slaves since "legally they were the private property of their masters. In contrast to this law, common in antiquity, the Torah sentenced a master who killed his slave to death! Hebrew law . . . emphasized that the life of the slave as a human being is equal in value to the life of the master . . . the Torah also instructs that the Canaanite slave is to rest on the Sabbath, a law which was invaluable in the battle for the slave's elementary rights . . ."[25]

A Jew was forbidden to turn over an escaped slave to his master. Moreover, he was enjoined to permit the slave to settle wherever he desired, and to behave with him as if he were a free man. Federbush points out that

> This limitation led to a marked improvement in the status of the slave, because the masters feared to work him excessively or to torture him, lest he flee, and then it would be prohibited to return him to bondage.[26]

This law (Deut. 23) was considered very radical in Biblical times when extradition treaties were concluded among nations, stipulating that escaped slaves

had to be returned to their masters in other countries. There they were tortured as an example to others. Hebrew children were taught, from the Book of Proverbs (32) not to "slander a servant to his master," i.e., not to inform on the slave.

Federbush stresses that the Talmudic sages not only preached these laws but also practiced them. Some of them attempted to liberate their slaves despite Roman Law that considered this a criminal offense. The Romans threatened Rabbi Elazar ben Parta with punishment because he had freed his slave.[27]

Classical vs. Jewish attitude toward labor. In the ancient world, the victors punished the vanquished by the reduction of slaves to a despised status of degraded labor. In this way labor became the symbol of the enslaved class and leisure that of the free man.

Socrates distinguished between two kinds of employment--for the body and for the soul. In his ideal state, Plato divided the citizens into rulers, soldiers and laborers. Herodotus wrote after his Asiatic travels that the eastern nations also hated artisans. From Demosthenes one could learn that since a man's instincts are like the work he does, kindness, sympathy and skill should not be expected from one involved in coarse labor. Federbush notes that the

Greek term "Ponus" and the Latin term "Labour" have the double meaning of work and sorrow.

The former Chief Rabbi of Finland goes on to describe the degradation of artists in Greece and Rome, "despite their admiration of art itself, because the artists resorted to physical labour." He quotes Lucian's description of a debate between Sculpture and Science who

> compete for a young man's affections. . . . In its desire to win the young heart, Sculpture lauds its art which guarantees economic security and physical development but Science answers: know that . . . you shall be . . . as an ordinary labourer . . . as one of the masses. . . . With all your ability, you will remain but a craftsman and a hireling.[28]

In contrast to this attitude, the Torah stressed that artisanry is a gift of God. The Bible praises the physical effort of "them that do any workmanship" and also the spiritual inspiration of "those that devise skillful works." The two thus combine to form divinely inspired creativity in persons.[29]

Greatly influenced by the Greco-Roman world, Christianity also condoned slavery and denegrated labor. Quoting Borne and Henry, in their book, A Philosophy of Work, Federbush maintains that they prove that

> Christianity accepted the "pagan approach" and saw in labour a . . . degradation of man, as a punishment . . . for his sin. . . . Kent . . .

> attempts to mitigate Christianity's stand. "Jesus did not object to existing conditions. He preferred to hold up the good examples while allowing the wicked to die a natural death. This approach is very evident in his silence about slavery in his time." But Peakes does not hesitate to assert that "slavery . . . was an institution accepted by civilization. Even in the nineteenth century, Christian priests defended its 'legality' in their addresses." There is not a single injunction in the entire New Testament for masters to be merciful to their slaves and to lighten their heavy yokes. . . . Saul of Tarsus urges the slaves, "Slaves be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling."30

There are those, however, who would see this as a misrepresentation. Paul (Saul) wrote in Colossians 4:1, "Masters, treat your slaves justly and fairly, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven." The underlying theme of his work, according to this position, is directly derived from his Jewish heritage, and his training as a Pharisee. That thematic attitude is best expressed in Galations 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in . . . Jesus."

Whereas the Greeks and Romans maintained that the laborer could not participate in the leadership of their respective nations, the Jews of the same period stressed the obligation of their spiritual leaders to occupy themselves with physical labor. This constituted a conscious effort to uproot the prevalent Roman view that work was beneath the dignity of the highborn. Another

"didactic" reason was to set an example for the nation, in translating two important principles into action. One was the aim to transform the worker into the fashioner of new forms in raw material motivated by the creative instinct inherent in the human being. The other was to turn him or her into a skilled laborer so that he or she would not have to depend on others. The ideal was that one only eat from the toil of one's hands and not from the bread of others.

To translate these ideals into reality, the leaders of Israel learned trades and practiced them, earning their livelihoods from their skills. Federbush provides a survey of the different trades practiced by various leaders in the course of time.

> The sages indicated that the patriarchs and builders of the nation were of the working class: "Cherished is labor with which all the prophets occupied themselves." Concerning Jacob it is written, "I shall return and herd your sheep." . . . Of Amos it says, "But I am a herdsman and dresser of sycamore trees." . . . Among the Tanaim Hillel was a woodcutter, . . . Shamai was a construction worker, Rabbi Yehoshua ben Chananya was a maker of charcoal or of needles, Rabbi Akiva supported himself by bringing wood from the forest to the city, Rabbi Yehuda was a baker, Rabbi Yochanan a shoemaker . . . Rabbi Yehuda a tailor. Among the Amoraim . . . Rabbi Avuha made veils, Rabbi Huna a farmer, Rabbi Yitzchak a blacksmith . . . Rabbi Avin a carpenter . . . etc.
>
> There was a group of sages in Jerusalem who attest to the Israelite scholars' love of labor. . . . It was called the Holy Community because its members busied themselves with Torah and physical

> labor . . . they would divide the day into three parts, a third to study, a third to prayer and a third to work. Others say that they studied in the winter and worked in the summer . . .[31]

The Jewish value of Labour (and the negative attitude to slavery) is, as has been seen, antithetical to the Greek, Roman and Christian ones. What is the Jewish conception of economic justice compared with that of the French Enlightenment and its two offshoots--capitalism and collectivism?

Economic equality. Judaism realized that economic equality does not automatically follow in the wake of legal equality. Federbush stresses that

> The great French Revolution was waged primarily for the equality of all classes, but left the economic problem practically untouched. . . . However, this equality in itself does not in reality imply just distribution of the basic necessities of life, and at times, even denies many the possibility to earn them. A constitution, for instance, which recognized all as equal before the law but simultaneously retains the unrestricted ownership of large landestates, which sanctions all the negative consequences of the feudal system, dooms to misery . . . the entire peasantry, forcing them to remain forever slave laborers on the soil of the landowners. It is true, the law does not distinguish between the rich and poor, but by virtue of protecting the current distribution of property, and its inherited inequality and injustice, it makes the legal equality fictional and futile.[32]

In view of these results of the French Revolution, the evolution of capitalism was seen as an improvement upon the feudal system. Whereas the latter

created a stultified upper class, which concentrated all of the national wealth, preventing other classes from intruding, capitalism is conducive to class mobility. In this system, it is the initiative and ability to amass wealth that counts. Capitalists therefore believe that their way of life makes for equality. Various theorists have supported this opinion. Even Karl Marx claims that capitalism erases the dividing lines between classes and that money equalizes people.[33]

However, industrial manufacturers--in the wake of an ever-expanding industrial society--have formed their own closed, social strata. As the means of production come under their control, their self-enrichment creates an impoverished proletariat.[34] Karl Marx "simplifies" this phenomenon when he states that,

> Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other--bourgeoisie and proletariat.[35]

Ellul, however, believes he has found a flaw in this simplification. Marx, he says, in the middle of the nineteenth century, rehabilitated technique in the eyes of the workers. Technique could be liberating. Indeed, stressed Marx, exploitation enslaved the workers but the masters were at fault, not technique itself.[36]

With respect to the laws of inheritance, there is little difference between feudalism and capitalism. Capitalist laws also transfer accumulated wealth from one generation to the next. In this way wealth is not necessarily obtained through ability and industry but rather by being associated with a given class in society. Paradoxically, therefore, it is possible for law--professing to practice equality--to be used to preserve class privileges.

Federbush points out that,

> For this reason the Torah law was not satisfied solely with legal emancipation, but demanded also economic equality. Both legal and economic equality stem from . . . ideals . . . in a single Creator . . . that . . . Creator is also the master and owner of all earth's resources. . . . In contrast to G-d's . . . mastery of the universe, man's dominance over his acquisitions is . . . limited in time and restricted in scope. . . . The idea of restricted ownership of real property is also inherent in the revolutionary law of returning the land to its original owner in the Jubilee: "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and settlers with me." (Lev. 25:23) Man is like a visitor sojourning in this world and therefore his ownership must be necessarily limited. . . . Transfer of property is permitted only in time of dire necessity. . . . But even sale property out of necessity can . . . upset the scales of economic equality. . . . As a result two classes are created, one of large landowners and the other of landless peasants, degraded from free farmers to serfs of the big landowners.[37]

The "revolutionary law"--the Jubilee--referred to by Federbush also constituted a barrier against the

creation of two such classes. It stipulates that the land sold returns to the original owners at the end of fifty years. Thus the Torah prevents the creation and perpetuation of an unjust society, but also provides those farmers who suffered natural disasters with new opportunities for economic rehabilitation. As Federbush stresses,

> The Jubilee, therefore, is a beneficial blend: providing opportunities for man's ability and competitive energy, which are the driving factors in the development of economic life, while preventing . . . the creation of a landed aristocracy. It precludes a feudalism which bequeaths its property to descendants who enjoy wealth they didn't earn, . . . while those who toil with the sweat of their brow on the land of others are doomed to a life of want and serfdom.[38]

The Torah also ensured equality in the possession of land when it commanded, "Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to the number of names . . . to each one according to those that were numbered of it shall its inheritance be given."[39] Thus, each family received proportional property, i.e., according to the number of its members. Perhaps now it is clear why transfer of property is permitted only in time of dire necessity. This was to prevent upsetting this equality by the soil being concentrated, in the course of time, in the hands of an individual.

But, as Federbush points out,

> Equality in apportioning the land applied not only to . . . Israel but also to strangers . . . Ezekiel . . . warned the Jews about this law: ". . . that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you and to the strangers that sojourn among you . . . and they shall be unto you as the homeborn among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance . . . in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give his inheritance . . ." (Ezekiel XLVII, 14, 22, 23) . . .
>
> The law requiring the inclusion of strangers in apportioning the land is another example of an ancient Jewish law more socially progressive than the most modern legislation of our era.[40]

Federbush states that many of the Torah's reforms, despite all social progress over the ages, still remain "only daring ideas for some distant future." With regard to the ancient world, at least, Doellinger declares that "There is no legislative code . . . that concerns itself with the prevention of the creation of a proletarian class as the Jewish one."[41] Nevertheless, the Torah's goal of establishing an exemplary social order in the Land of Israel, concerned with the provision of human equality and equal economic subsistence to <u>all</u> those living within its borders, can still be emulated in the modern world.

Jewish sects and thinkers have always viewed collectivism favorably if it was motivated by and directed to ethical holiness. The Essenes, living in their own settlements during the last days of the Second Temple, negated materialism and hedonism, preferring such values

as labor, love, brotherhood and peace.

The following description of the Essenes by Philo could actually be that of a modern Kibbutz in Israel:

> They are almost the only ones in the world that have no private property . . . they . . . have deliberately chosen such a way of life, and they . . . rejoice over the qualities of moderation and humility as if they were great treasures. . . . They consider owners of slaves . . . as evil-doers, destroying equality within mankind. . . . Their social ideals are love of fellow-man, equal right and above all, collective living. . . . They have but one treasury for all expenses. Clothing and food are also collectively owned, and they eat communal meals . . .[42]

This kind of religious collectivism appears in 19th century French literature. Referring to Christian sects of different ages, from the inception of Christianity until the century following that of Rationalism, the writers proposed a kingdom of heaven on earth, based on communism. The prominent thinkers among them were De Lammena, Constanti, Esquiro and Pecqueur.[43] Unfortunately, these were the exception to the rule of communist materialism claiming the minds of Europeans of the 19th century.

Religious collectivism was the main difference between the ideological and religious trend within Judaism and the communist mass movement of the last two hundred years. As Federbush points out, Jewish collectivism

> is of an entirely different nature . . . its adherents see in it the way to ethical fulfillment, a life without lust for money, human temptations and class hatred; a life . . . free from the temporary and vain concerns, so that (man) can devote himself to lasting values . . .[44]

The value of learning. Not only does labor reflect ethical and humanitarian qualities but without it there can be no culture. As Freire points out, ". . . culture is all human creation." Describing his Brazilian educational experience, in which the emphasis was on dialogue, he quotes an elderly peasant:

> "I know now that I am cultured," . . . And when he was asked how it was that now he knew himself to be cultured, he answered . . ., "Because I work, and working, I transform the world."[45]

The Mishna correlates learning with culture. "If there is no flour, there is no Torah (learning). If there is no Torah, there is no flour."[46] Therefore, Torah is indispensable if "flour"--the material aspects of society--are to be realized. To obtain these, action is necessary and although, as seen above, "doing" is the main thing, and not "study," a debate recorded in the Talmud concluded with the majority favoring "study" because it leads to "doing."[47]

Modern streams of "study" are based on mechanistic predeterminism, the transmission of the culturally given and sequential stage development. Neither the teacher nor the student, in these streams, is motivated by

"faith."[48] This is due to the fact, as S. H. Bergman points out, that

> Modern man finds it difficult to understand what faith is; he finds it even more difficult to have faith. Faith requires the ability to listen. It is for this reason that the watch-word of Judaism opens with the word "shema"--"hear." Modern man, however, rarely pauses to listen. He is "busy"--surrounded by crowds, engulfed by noise, submerged in his work or strenuously absorbed in leisure-time activities. He lacks the peace in which alone the still small voice of faith can speak.[49]

Theodore Roszak transcends the limit of passive listening, and attributes instruction, learning and intelligible speech to the Jewish God who was "pre-eminently a voice." He describes how

> the Jews acquired their incomparable ear . . . they heard . . . as no one else ever heard. They became history's most alert listeners. Their God was pre-eminently a voice . . . in this vocal God we have a mighty realization of the universality of the sacred. . . . The Jews, beyond all other cultures, seized upon the spiritually potent symbolism of sound: that which is present in the world ubiquitously, but intangibly. Or rather, they seized upon <u>articulate</u> sound. The sound to which the Jewish ear was tuned was far removed from the primal groundstone of the Hindu and Buddhist mantra, the "seed-syllable" from which the worshipper evokes an immediate awareness of the divine. The mantra is a hypnotic murmur; it entrances and then consumes. But the word of the prophetical God <u>instructs</u>; it is <u>intelligible speech</u>. (Stress added.)[50]

Reinforcing Roszak's claim that the Jews "became history's most alert listeners" and in contrast with Bergman's modern man or woman who lacks "the still small voice of faith," M. L. Alexenberg explains both

through the Mythological Structure of consciousness. He attributes this structure exclusively to Oriental Jews (although the same was true for Occidental Jews only one hundred years ago).

> . . . the Oriental Jewish child develops for the most part in an environment strongly linked to those aspects of Jewish socio-religious experience that are audial. . . . He learns that the most central affirmation in Jewish life begins with the words "Hear O Israel," that God created the universe by calling it into being, and that God's words have been heard, but God has never been seen. . . . As he chants the service by heart, his chant flows outwards to merge with . . . the others and . . . flows back to his inner world. He builds the soft-edged audial world into a Mythological Structure of consciousness, in contrast with the Western Jew who attempts to build a hard-edged visual world into a Mental-Rational structure.[51]

Thus the ability to listen--from a Jewish and Oriental world view--preconditions the ability to learn. Listening is also an inextricable part of a dialogical relationship.

If one listens, one can learn--from everyone and everything. "Who is wise? He who learns from every man (and all men) . . ."[52]

How does one learn? Again, by listening to other persons: "He who learns from his fellow one chapter or one rule, or one verse or even one letter must relate to him with respect . . ."[53] Learning also takes place dialogically, i.e., by interaction between the teacher and the student. Thus, "The honour of your student

should be as dear to you as your own." The student is encouraged to challenge his teacher. Rashi, the classical Biblical commentator, describes in this context the creation of the dialogical process: ". . . they (the teacher and the student) become as enemies; the one does not accept the words of the other and they do not budge from their positions until they begin to love one another . . ." The student is also permitted to choose the learning material him or herself: "A person does not learn Torah unless he wants to."[54]

Who is learned? One who practices humility. "If you have learned lots (of Torah), do not attribute it to yourself, because for that you were created."[55] The Bible describes King Solomon's humility in the following passage, in which the worldly and sophisticated monarch requests only wisdom upon assuming the Kingship. "Give thy servant . . . an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and evil . . .[56] Moses, too, reflects this attribute of humbleness. During the desert wanderings of the Israelites, a young man ran up to Moses and said: "Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp." Joshua, Moses' deputy, asked him to "imprison them." But Moses said to him: "Are you jealous for my sake? Would that all God's people were prophets, that the Lord would endow them with His

spirit."[57] This sharing of knowledge is a dominant theme of universal learning throughout Jewish history. Moses heralds this at Sinai when, upon delivering the Decalogue, he tells the Israelites: "The Torah was given not only to you who stand here today, but also to those who are not here . . ."[58] Thus, although Moses serves as the instrument of divine teaching, he never considers himself the sole proprietor of the knowledge and the laws he brings to Israel. On the contrary, he wants to share this knowledge with all of the people.

To whom is learning and knowledge directed? To all of the people. Moses tells the Israelites, in another context, that when they will all go up to "see God," they should "gather the people; the men, women, children and the stranger within your gates, so that they should <u>listen</u> and should <u>learn</u> . . ." (Stress added.)[59] This plan for the democratization of education actually was put into practice in several stages many centuries later. Upon rebuilding the Temple and the city of Jerusalem in the 5th century, B.C.E., Ezra the Scribe, introduced the custom of reading the Torah on the Sabbath and during festivals in the synagogue, as well as on Mondays and Thursdays in the market place. In this way, all levels of the population would be exposed to the learning process.[60]

In the first century, B.C.E., one of the more enlightened Hasmonean rulers, Queen Salome (78-69 B.C.E.) appointed the sage, Shimon ben-Shetach to a post equivalent to that of "Superintendant of Education" of today. He implemented universal, compulsory education by establishing at least one school in every town and hamlet, paid for by those who were able, but free to orphans and children of the poor.[61]

Despite the destruction of Jerusalem and the loss of political sovereignty after 70 C.E., this spirit of "mass" and "democratic" education continued to be practically implemented on different planes. In addition to ordained rabbis of the Sanhedrin (the Jewish legislature), there were many non-formal educators who represented the most creative and constructive forces of the People. Unordained, they worked as itinerant teachers unhampered by official commitments. Although some came from the priestly class and even from the well-to-do, many were poor and of undistinguished birth--their standing determined only by their learning and personalities. They earned their living not by teaching but from manual trades such as blacksmithing, shoemaking, shepherding, et cetera.[62] In fact, they were the ones who would henceforth set the standards of scholarship. The ideal wise man was not a professional teacher but

one who "learned from all men" and who did not use his learning for profit but "for the sake of heaven," i.e., for intrinsic study.

How is knowledge applied? By translating theory into practice. Rabbi Yochanan ben-Dosa says: "Everyone whose deeds are greater than his wisdom--his wisdom stands. And if his wisdom is greater than his deeds--his wisdom does not stand . . ."[63] Doing is the more important function--not meditating or philosophizing. "Say little and do much," said Shammai.[64] When applying what has been learned, the finished product might not be the epitome of perfection, but it will exist. Perhaps it will be necessary to change it, but the crucial factor is that "man" has created. And this fact justifies his transcendental existence.

Does an intrinsic creation justify its own existence? Not necessarily, unless it receives its inspiration from a moral value which withstands the test of applied reality.

How does "doing" rejuvenate the process of learning? By the guidance of the Torah:

> And these things which I command you this day, shall be (inscribed) upon your hearts, and you shall teach them to your children, and you shall talk with them--when sitting in your homes, when walking along the way, when lying down, and rising up. And you shall wind them around your arms as a sign, and let them be as reminders before your

homes and on your gates."[65]

The total integration of learning, teaching and acting in all places and at all times--both literally and figuratively--constitutes the Jewish educational process, formulating the whole person.

If a wise person learns from every person, then Judaism also recognizes the validity of "cultural pluralism" on a universal basis--at least as an ideal. As shall be seen, at least once in Jewish history it has even been inadvertently fought for--with unanticipated success.

Cultural pluralism. Cultural Pluralism derives from the principle that the individual has the right to be different in any given society. Just as an individual should retain the respect of others within a group, so should a group--ethnic or cultural--retain the respect of entities or groups of which it is a part.

B. H. Hill stresses that "it is not human individuality in general but the particular and unique individual . . . whose sanctity is felt to be in special jeopardy in the modern day."[66] Judaism's reply to this concern is reflected in an excerpt from the Mishna. It stresses the value of man's uniqueness; thus strengthening the case for cultural diversity, mutual respect and coexistence.

> The Bible relates that God created Adam, a single human being, as the forefather of all mankind. This teaches us that to destroy a single life is to destroy a whole world, even as to save a single life is to save a whole world. That all people have a common ancestor should make for peace, since no one can say to anyone else: "My father was greater than your father." That mankind began with a single human being proclaims forever the greatness of the Holy One. For man stamps many coins with one die, and they all look alike, but the Holy One stamped every human being with the die of Adam, yet no person is like any other. Therefore, every human being must declare, "It is for my sake that the world was created."[67]

Individual uniqueness constitutes a Jewish value in itself, but not the only one. As seen above, modesty, compassion, equality and learning also have become integral parts of the value structure of the Chosen People. To be chosen is to be holy. To be holy is to actively help the poor, the stranger, the orphan and widow. To be chosen, however, is also to realize--as the prophet Amos does--that no superiority is involved. On the contrary, in God's eyes <u>all</u> nations are equal. "Are you not as the children of the Ethiopians to Me, O children of Israel?" said God. "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?"[68] Isaiah declares that ". . . my House shall be called a House of Prayer for all peoples . . ."[69] Micah, too, proclaiming the vision of the Messianic era, describes the state of the world as one of Peace with the nations

practicing religious pluralism.

> . . . in the end of days . . . Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, Neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; And none shall make them afraid. . . . For let all the peoples walk each one in the name of its God, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever. (Stress added.)[70]

The Maccabean revolt (166 B.C.E.) succinctly reflected the polarity of two historical approaches to cultural expression: monolithic, as expressed by the Seleucid King Antiochus Epiphanes, and pluralistic, as reflected by the Hashmonaeem, a group of pious Judean farmers who opposed the wealthy, urban, Judean Hellenists who emulated Greek culture. The Maccabeans fought for their rights, as deviants, to maintain their unique monotheistic culture within the Greek-oriented polytheistic cultural framework in a Hellenized Middle East. Thus the Hashmonaeem Revolt was, de facto, a realization of the Jewish ideal of Cultural Pluralism.

These and other Jewish values are antithetical to the so-called "humanistic" values of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. These values set forth in the Torah, modified and codified in the Mishna and Gemara (the Talmud) formed one side of the coin of Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The other side of the coin was the Jewish People. The dialogical reciprocity of the two sides

kept the coin intact.

On the one hand, Jewish humanism helped guard and perpetuate the Jewish community--spiritually, sociologically and physically--no matter where it found itself, and no matter what religious, cultural or intellectual winds blew across its self-imposed confines. On the other hand, the Jewish community helped to guard and perpetuate Jewish values. Although the Jews were called the "People of the Book" (the Bible), Heschel points out that "they did not feel themselves to be 'the People of the Book.'" He explains that

> They did not feel that they possessed the "Book," just as one does not feel that one possesses life. The Book, the Torah, was their essence, just as they, the Jews, were the essence of Torah.[71]

This interaction between two equal parts fused into one unbreakable circle in the course of nearly 1800 years. Roman persecution, the massacres of the Crusades and the burnings at the stake in the Spanish Inquisition were unable to shatter it. Neither could Moslem rationalism dent the circle. But in the 18th century, European Jewry equated the Messianic vision of a warless, classless yet pluralistic world with the egalitarian ideals of the French Enlightenment. Thus, the ring was eroded. The two sides of the coin separated. The 1800-year-old (if not 3800-year-old) circle was finally broken.

Erosion of Jewish values by the Enlightenment in Europe. What was the Jewish Messianic vision? The concept of Messianism[72] in Judaism during the First Temple period began with Isaiah's vision of the coming of the Prince of Peace. With the Temple's destruction, and the subsequent exiles, captivities, massacres and persecutions, the Messianic ideal grew and diminished depending on contemporary circumstances. Yet it always remained alive in the consciousness of the Jewish People, and was inextricably tied to the return to Zion.

It is therefore little wonder that with the coming of the Enlightenment in Europe, the Jews firmly believed that the first buds of the Messianic flower were opening. Messianic signs were detected by the Jewish masses, and by the intellectual and spiritual elite upon the advent of the European Emancipation. They naively assumed that centuries of belief and prayers had finally borne fruit. This attitude actually initiated the historical process of the erosion of traditional Jewish values. As Max Dimont relates,

> . . . between 1800 and 1950 we see the fossilized Jews flee those ghettos--in the West via an Isaian route of universalism identified with Western values, and in the East via a Hosean route of humanism identified with Jewish values--to once again become avant-guarde intellectuals. We shall see both paths merge into one road traversed by a new Zionade, generated by secular Messiahs who will lead a new breed of true believers back to the Promised Land.[73]

But, according to Dimont, as in the days of Moses, the route taken was not the short one.

> Beginning with French rationalism promising liberty, fraternity and equality, it ended in a collision with communism, fascism, and anti-semitism that nullified these promises. Beginning with secular Judaism embracing secular enlightenment, it ended in a clash of messianism with totalitarianism.[74]

Where did the Jews fit in this rationalist "blueprint?" The answer is not simple, and rather paradoxical. The more the Jews believed (or wanted to believe) that their emancipation and full equality was being realized, the more facts and events proved the converse.

Advent of Jewish cultural renaissance. Moses Hess' personal experience illustrates this well. His contact with western values first drew him to assimilation and then back again to his national origins. Thus, to a certain extent, Hess (1812-1875) is typical of the philosophical precursors of Zionism. An active socialist, he participated in the German revolution of 1848, and earned the death sentence for his loyalty to the revolution. Because he espoused ethical socialism and opposed materialistic determinism,[75] Karl Marx mocked him in the Communist Manifesto.[76]

In 1862 Hess wrote Rome and Jerusalem (inspired by Mazini and the Italian Risorgimento), in which he describes

the cause of his return to active Jewish identification:

> Twenty years ago, when news came to Europe from Damascus of an absurd accusation against the Jews (the "blood libel" accusing the Jews of that city for the death of a Capucin friar, using his blood to bake Matzoth--unleavened bread--for Passover) a feeling of agony, as bitter as it was justified, was evoked in the hearts of all Jews. . . . At that time, though I was still greatly estranged from Judaism, I wanted to cry out in anguish . . . but this emotion was superseded by the greater pain which was evoked in me by the suffering of the proletariat of Europe. . . . The nations of Europe have always regarded the existence of the Jews in their midst as an anomaly. We shall always remain strangers among the nations. . . . The Jew in exile . . . may become a naturalized citizen but he will never be able to convince the gentile of his total separation from his own nationality. . . . The Western Jews would breathe a new life into the whole of our religion, but they ignore the great hope which created our faith and has preserved it through all the tempests of history --the hope of the restoration of the Jewish nation.[77]

Multiplied by the millions, such experiences of rejection by the "enlightened" gentiles of Europe and overt physical anti-Semitism in Czarist Russia, Germany, and other countries, produced an ethnic, nationalist reaction--political Zionism. Since the Jewish intelligentsia in Europe had rejected religious values for western rational values, it was natural that they should reinterpret their Jewish origins through the modern instruments of the Enlightenment.

The historical process reflecting the above reality can be described as follows: As the Jews emerged from the Ghetto and were confronted with the ideas of the age

of reason, an intellectual transformation took place among many believing Jews which raised doubts among them. Questions arose to which nineteenth century Jews sought answers. Theological, ritual and legal questions such as the definition of Judaism, the meaning of revelation, the purpose of prayer, the belief in immortality, the selection of the Jews as the Chosen People and the relations between Christianity and Judaism--these were only some of the once-axiomatic issues concerning which the modern Jew could no longer accept traditional beliefs with equanimity. Other customs and laws which posed problems were the value of Jewish rituals, the use of Hebrew in religious services, the meaning of the Sabbath and holidays and the validity of Jewish law for a "citizen" of the Enlightenment.

In an attempt to cope with these issues, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) interpreted Judaism as a religion of reason. He believed that such concepts as the unity of God, the moral law and the immortality of the soul were rational ideas. Since they could be demonstrated logically, they should be understood universally. Inasmuch as Judaism was not dogmatic, his argument ran, but was distinguished by a set of revealed laws and customs incumbent only on the Jewish People, the Jew was committed to be a bearer of that revelation.

What followed from these assumptions was a very radical break with one of the basic tenets of Judaism. The Reform movement rejected the bi-millenial centrality of Jerusalem as the Jewish People's hope and future, and substituted their contemporary German, empirical reality for Messianic Zionism.

In Eastern Europe, the "Mendelssohn of Galicia" --Nahman Krochmal (1785-1840) attempted to apply "scientific" criteria in the reinterpretation of Jewish history and philosophy. This effort ultimately led to a secular-nationalist philosophy of Jewish history in the spirit of German philosophy. However, as Simon Noveck stresses, "neither Mendelssohn nor Krochmal presented a comprehensive or adequate reinterpretation of Judaism which could help the modern Jew reconcile his or her Judaism with contemporary thought.[78]

Unsuccessful attempts at assimilation. Perhaps this very "failure" to reconcile the two sets of values--Jewish and Western--encouraged (philosophically) frustrated Jews to compromise their Judaism, even to the extent of abandoning it entirely. Such Jews sincerely believed that such behavior would earn them "passports" into Western society and equality. Very often it did.

Nevertheless, if this behavior earned them entry into

Christian society," as Lucy Dawidowicz points out:

> . . . not enlightenment but apostasy was the right price of admission to Gentile society. Heine, who paid it, remarked that "the baptismal certificate is the admission ticket to European civilization." Many Berlin Jews had little difficulty paying that price. The Mendelssohnian haskala set off an epidemic of voluntary conversions unparalleled in Jewish history . . .[79]

The idea that religious enlightenment was a condition for civic emancipation[80] was imported from Western Europe through Mendel Lefin to Jewish communities in Poland and Russia. He urged the Polish Diet in 1791 to reform Jewish traditional education. Lefin praised Judaism's rationalist qualities, as exemplified by Maimonides in the past and by Mendelssohn in the present. He also claimed that reform of Jewish traditional education could only be enforced by the state's authority. But even these arguments did not impress the Poles, and they refused to grant the Jews any rights.[81]

This type of "apologia" was not limited to European Jews of Mendelssohn's time. The Spanish and French Jews, who came into direct contact with Voltaire, Diderot, d'Holbach and other well-known philosophes of the French Enlightenment, also "played host" to those whom they regarded as their benefactors, rather than their oppressors. Voltaire, however, left no doubts

> I know that there are some Jews in the English colonies. . . . But that these circumcized Jews who sell old clothes to the savages claim that they are of the tribe of Naphtali or Issachar is not of the slightest importance. They are nonetheless, the greatest scoundrels who have ever sullied the fact of the globe. (Stress added.)[82]

In numerous other works, Voltaire and his followers attacked not only the Jews with even greater villification, but also Christians and "savages," such as the American Indians. As a result, Isaac de Pinto, an active literary participant in the pre-revolutionary French rationalist milieu, published a pamphlet entitled Apologie in 1762. In it, and in the reprinted edition of 1769, Pinto, a Spanish Jew, maintained, true to the spirit of the Enlightenment, that those Jews who had entered Western society by adopting western manners and dress were better than the rest, and that they therefore were made worthy of equality.[83] Pinto's controversy with Voltaire over the Jewish question was always based on his Rationalist presuppositions. He never quoted the Torah or other Jewish sources, as did Isaiah Berr Bing, the leading "enlightened" Jew of Metz. Bing proudly quoted the Bible in his rebuttal of a virulent anti-Semitic pamphlet, published in 1786, recognizing that he was defending his faith against "the progress of fashionable philosophy, with its aversion for ritual and for everything which it

cannot touch physically and immediately." Yet he admitted that persecution throughout the centuries had created Jewish traits such as materialism and cowardliness. Worst of all, their exclusion from the mainstream of society had caused the Jews to conduct their inner life not in some Western language but in the debased jargon, Yiddish, used in their ghettos.[84] Using Mendelssohn as an example of a Jew representing the Berlin generation that arose as the result of equality, Bing asserted that only an enlightened, dignified, Westernized version of Judaism would be worthy of respect and equality.[85]

Mirabeau's two assertions, that the Jews themselves should be freed of the "dark phantoms of the Talmudists," and that the "Jew is more of a man than he is a Jew" evoked more positive defenses. It is important to remember that Mirabeau was considered a "tolerant" Enlightener, because he asserted that history proves that "the Jews, considering them as men and citizens, were greatly corrupted only because they were denied their rights."[86]

Not only were pamphlets such as Pinto's and Bing's used to ingratiate the Jews in the eyes of their new patrons, the Enlighteners, but other, more internal tactics were also resorted to. In Sepharadic (Spanish

and Portuguese-Jewish) congregations, the services were translated from Hebrew to French (not Spanish or Portuguese) to demonstrate their patriotism to France.[87]

Erosion of Jewish Values in the Mediterranean Basin

In Moslen countries, too, the Emancipation had similar effects on Jews and Jewish values with two basic differences: In Europe the erosion was gradual. In the Middle East, the change was sudden. In Europe, the Jews anticipated equality and attempted to integrate into their host societies. In the Middle East and North Africa, the Jews had no illusions of equality due to the nature of Moslem society. A survey of the Emancipation in Moslem lands, and the erosion of Jewish values and life there as a result of the emancipatory process, is important in order to understand the cultural milieu with which the Mizrahee Jews came to Israel in 1948.

In Syria, Christian (Protestant) Mission Schools, originating in London, operated during most of the 19th century and the first half of the twentieth. At first, the Rabbis virulently opposed these activities, but during World War I a compromise was reached, and Jewish children received a modern English education with a Christian "scent." Concurrently, the Rabbi would come

to the school to give the children a Jewish religious education.[88]

Jewish organizations such as Alliance Israelite Universelle, as well as Christian institutions, stressed Western values, especially languages such as English and French. This type of education prepared Syrian Jewry for entrance into such occupations as foreign trade and public administrative posts in colonial bureaucracy. It also stimulated emigration. W. P. Zemer points out that "What had hitherto failed to arouse psychological and cultural opposition, having been a 'fact of life,' now became a question of personal decision."[89]

This phenomenon of cultural change constituted a crucial stage in the modern history of Oriental Jewry. Yehuda Nini cites examples of other Oriental Jewish communities which passed through similar stages during the same period of time. Geographically, Nini explains, the Eastern Mediterranean Basin and North Africa were divided into two cultural strips. The coastal plain was exposed to Christianity, Islam and Judaism. The inland region was barely exposed to even <u>one</u> foreign language. Yemen is a good example of the secular cultural strip. If there (in the city of Amram, almost hermetically sealed off from external influences)

traditional Jewish practices, especially in the area of personal morals, were eroded by the emulation of foreign cultures and a subsequent loss of faith, it is not surprising that the same process took place in North Africa and Egypt under French and English colonial influence.[90]

On the other hand, the two conditions for an assimilation movement which existed elsewhere, did not exist in Middle Eastern countries. These were: the idealization of the surrounding culture and the aspiration for integration into the general society.

The attitude of Oriental Jewry towards Islamic culture was purely pragmatic. Michael Abutbul points out that

> In contrast to their Western brothers during the period of Emancipation, Oriental Jewry never made serious efforts to understand, to translate, to adapt and to justify the principles of their faith and their culture in the spirit of Islamic concepts. . . . in fact, there was no emancipatory process for Oriental Jewry, and there was no way of integrating the Jews into their environment (i.e., the environment of the dominant culture). What <u>did</u> happen was the exact opposite. The aim was to leave the surrounding (host) society--something like exile within exile.[91]

Abutbul notes that the Moslem Reform Movement advocated the modernization of traditional Moslem content, and the Islamization of modern content that was absorbed in the wake of European influence. This, he points out, explains why the aim of the Jews was to leave their Moslem environment.

> If we limit ourselves only to the political area, it seems that till the 1950's the relations between rulers and subjects were based on basic principles of Islam: the political community was considered a "Holy Community" or as a miniature "nation"--a situation that did not provide the Jews with any opportunity to be included in Moslem society.[92]

This reality brought Oriental Jewry, for the first time, into contact with world Jewish bodies, in whom they saw a source of aid to advance their material situation. Abutbul notes that

> . . . it seems that these Jewish organizations did not see as their task to bring Oriental Jewry into the general Jewish historical cycle . . . their aim was more ambitious: to lead Oriental Jewry into the heart of European culture . . . while completely abandoning any way of relating to Jewish tradition. For example, the Consistory Rabbis closed down Jewish parochial schools in Algeria that Rabbi Michael Weil compared to animal cages . . . they refrained--over a long period of time--from establishing other institutions instead.[93]

In 1870, when Cremie's Order[94] awarded most of Algerian Jewry French citizenship, they enjoyed full emancipation. Together with this change in their legal status, their cultural assimilation depleted large parts of the community. This was inspired by the Consistorial leadership that saw as its principal aim, Algerian Jewry taking the same road French Jewry had taken since the French Revolution. At the same time, with the advent of modernization, Algerian Jewry met with unbridled anti-Semitism on the part of the European base of the local population--liberals, conservatives, anarchists

and churchmen.[95]

Although the impact of Western values on Middle Eastern Jewry was much more sudden than upon European Jewry (and due to objective reasons, Middle Eastern Jews could not expect similar integration within their Moslem host societies), the process of Westernization was essentially the same. It seems plausible that the trauma created by the relatively rapid cultural transformation in the Mediterranean Basin had crucial negative effects on the self-image of the Middle Eastern Jew upon his arrival in the western-oriented society of Israel.

Oriental Jews in Israel suffered from a low self-image. This is not surprising, for their image was a priori negated by the Ashkenazee establishment. This attitude dates back to the Enlightenment and the Emancipation. Their European forefathers of the Ashkenazeem, who had just been "liberated" from the Ghetto had very clear ideas about Judaism on the one hand, and Western culture on the other. As Lucy Dawidowicz points out, "In their eyes, Western culture and humanism were rational, enlightened, progressive, ergo good; whereas Judaism was irrational, superstitious, backward, separatist, ergo bad."[96]

Explaining the erosion of Jewish values under the

impact of Rationalism, Dawidowicz compares Hasidism and the Haskala:

> Has idism, a revolutionary movement of religious renewal, arose in the Ukranian provinces of Podolia and Vohynia. Haskala, or Enlightenment, began in Berlin. . . . The originators of both movements were contemporaries: Israel Baal Shem Tov (ca. 1700-1760) and Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786). . . . The Haskala made Judaism a private matter between man and God, to be transacted in private. Haskala denationalized Judaism and decommunalized its teachings, observances and symbols. Has idism, for its part, demanded individual spontaneity and genuineness in place of mechanical performance and formalistic ritual; communion with God was conditional on inwardness and authentic religiosity . . .
>
> Has idism directed itself toward improving the inner man; Haskala, the outer man. Has idism wanted to perfect man for communion with God; Haskala wanted to refine and cultivate him for communication with non-Jews. The hasid, striving for inwardness, disregarded appearance, manners and costume--to achieve humility. . . . The maskil, the enlightener, stressed outwardness--elegant speech, modern clothing, good manners, wit and erudition to dazzle non-Jewish society. Has idism warned its followers to eschew pride, self-love and ostentation. Haskala valued achievement and accomplishment.
>
> Both Haskala and Has idism spoke of equality, but meant different things. Has idism preached an egalitarian doctrine of spiritual liberation, proselytizing rich and poor alike, skeptic and believer, German Jew and Polish Jew. Has idism tried to strengthen the Jew's inner resources . . . combatting those feelings of Jewish inferiority which characterized the early maskilim.[97]

On the other hand, religious reform and strong assimilationist tendencies also led to an historical reinterpretation of Judaism.

Sepharadic culture. Abraham Heschel provides some insight into the world of Sepharadic culture, its development and its similarities and differences with regard to Ashkenazee culture. As mentioned earlier in this study, the prominent difference between the two cultures is one of form rather than of content. Heschel notes this point which is crucial with regard to the resolution of the problem of the sociocultural gap. He also describes the meeting of Hasidic and Sepharadic mysticism, as well as a transformational synthesis of the two cultures--which is actually one--Judaism.

He points out that the Sepharadee Jews were distinguished by scientific achievements and by a universality of spirit; also

> Literary forms, scientific methods, philosophical categories and even theological principles were often adopted from the Arabs. . . . Jewish authors were inclined to stress the basic agreements between the doctrines of their faith and the theories of great non-Jewish thinkers.
>
> The culture of Spanish Sepharadic Jews was shaped by an elite; it was derived from above and was hardly touched by the . . . simplicity . . . and naturalness of the humble mass.
>
> What distinguishes Sepharadic from Ashkenazic culture is . . . difference of form rather than a divergence of content . . . distinction between a static form (in which the spontaneous is subjected to strictness and abstract order) and a dynamic form (which does not compel the content to conform to what has already been established). The Sepharadic strain, striving after measure, order and harmony, and the Ashkenazic strain, with its preference for the spontaneous and dynamic, can both be traced down to the modern period.

> Much of what the Sepharadeem created was adopted by the Ashkenazeem and transformed. Under the spell of the Hasideem, the rich and ponderous speculations of the Sepharadic mystics were stripped of their tense and stern features without any loss of profundity or earnestness. The lofty and elaborate doctrines of the Kabbalah were melted into thoughts understandable by the heart.[98]

The meeting of Sepharadic and Ashkenazic cultures. Once the meeting between "East" and "West" within the Jewish cultural Diaspora is understood, it will be easier to understand how the process of the erosion of Jewish values, begun in 19th century Europe, actually affected both parts of the Jewish People. Haim H. Ben-Sasson reinforces Heschel's synthetic approach when he declares, "The heritage belongs to all of us. And it comes to us via unique and separate causes, in the course of many generations in different places of Exile." He begins by stressing that the founders of the European Reform movement--Geiger and Zunz--(the latter developed an historical school in Judaism similar to Ranke's perception of history as an objective science) called the flowering of Spanish Jewry in the Middle Ages the "Golden Age" of Hebrew Literature. Haskala thinkers adopted much of Maimonides' philosophy. Elaborating upon this phenomenon, Ben-Sasson explains:

> Spanish Jewry has had for itself a great and wonderful heritage until the end of the 15th century. The German-Jewish Haskala of the 18-19th centuries transformed this heritage

> into the focal point of modern Jewish culture. But after the 15th century, this heritage is made the basis of Spanish-Jewish culture. . . . What I am trying to say is that this nation has one heritage but it is varied . . . for Spanish Jewry did not reach Babylon; it did not come to Yemen. . . . This Jewry reached Western Europe. . . . During the French Revolution rights were first given to the Jews of Spain and only afterwards to the German Jews. . . . When Haim Yosef Azulai travelled in southern France, almost on the eve of the Revolution . . . and described . . . the Jewish culture of Bordeaux and other regions in the South of France, it was that of Spanish Jewry that perpetuated the heritage taken with it from Spain in contact with Christian worlds and not with Moslem ones. . . . Thinking and form patterns--that is a great portion of the Jewish heritage and of the Jewish contribution to the West-European, world culture, and in return--from the world culture to the Jewish world. . . .[99]

What Ben-Sasson emphasizes time and again is "that you have before you a tremendous span of Jewish continuity." But with each Jewish community--whether Oriental or Occidental--the contact and circumstances are unique. Thus the total mosaic is very complex. For instance, as he points out, "When the Sasoons came from Babylon via the Far East to London, they were absorbed in that Spain that was in London." With regard to North Africa, the upper strata of that Jewry were torn away from the lower strata so that all that remains visible today are remnants of folklore like the post-Passover holiday, the Maimouna, while important manuscripts are hard to come by which reflect the serious traditions of North African Jewry.

In the same context Ben-Sasson describes the cultural reactions of two North African Jews--Albert Memi, who is fairly assimilated, and Andre Shuraki, a Zionist living in Israel. Both, Ben-Sasson notes, believe that knowledge is to be found in French culture, in post-revolution rational clarity.

> Here we have a parallel to what happened in the second half of the 18th century to central and western European Jewry, that also turned to knowledge and saw its own world as one of darkness. But the difference between the two phenomena is very significant and essential, and that is that in Europe the turning was to live, national cultures; and in North Africa the turning was to set, imperialistic patterns.[100]

The erosion of Jewish values should seem to have led to total assimilation both in Europe and in the Mediterranean Basin. Two historical phenomena prevented this. One was anti-Semitism (deriving from the Enlightenment) and the other was a genuine effort by Jewish thinkers and writers to create a Jewish cultural renaissance, which would replace Jewish tradition (a direct result of that very Enlightenment and the Emancipation that was to follow.)

Anti-Semitism despite the Enlightenment. The first signs of anti-Semitism could be discerned during the French Revolution when the bearers of the banner of "Fraternity, Equality and Liberty" shouted: "To the man, everything; to the Jew, nothing!" Even after the Jews had been

emancipated in 1791, Voltaire implied that the Jews were inherently ignorant and could never be integrated into a modern society.

Heinemann, Gutmann et al. explain this attitude toward the Jews as an indirect method of striking out at Christianity.

> To some extent, this anti-Jewish fervor can be understood as merely one aspect of the Enlightenment's war on Christianity. . . . Diderot, D'Holbach and Voltaire were the most radical anti-Christians of their time, and in contrast to more moderate Deists who praised the Jews, they did not hesitate to pour scorn on Christianity by revealing its Jewish origins. . . . Voltaire, in particular, detested the Jews with vehement passion . . .[101]

Paradoxically, too, the Enlightenment was the focal point of anti-Semitic ideology claiming that the Jew was an enemy of the modern secular state, even after there were no doubts as to the Jew's secularism.[102]

Although there was no dearth of anti-Semitism in Russia, Haskala writers began to appear on the East-European scene only after a considerable increase of trade between the East and West had begun, in the wake of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This was the time when such Russian writers as Pushkin and Blinski attempted to emulate the tempo and secular efficiency of Western life. Jewish Maskeeleem, mostly of middle-class origin, reacted very much as their Russian counterparts had reacted. Since a considerable part of the Jewish

population were merchants, trading in and out of Russia, they could not function without a mastery of Russian and other foreign languages as well as geography, literature and other secular subjects. The social ideology of the Maskeeleem also derived from their bourgeois background. As H. Sachar points out,

> They urged that the Jews "productivize" themselves, move into useful, dignified livelihoods. Actually, the "productivization" of the Jewish masses was directly in the interest of the rising Jewish capitalist class; for the impoverished non-productive peddlers and hawkers . . . were a handicap to the expansion of the internal market. Finally, the maskilim honestly believed that secular education would endow all Jews with greater dignity . . . vis-a-vis their non-Jewish neighbors.[103]

Sachar stresses that there was a crucial difference between East European Maskeeleem and post-Mendelssohnian "salon Jews" in Western Europe. The former did not advocate Russification, whereas the latter Germanized themselves emotionally and spiritually, adopting German dress, German decorum, German emphasis upon science, academic research and technology. Sachar states that

> In contrast with many of the Emancipation-obsessed Jews of Germany, the more traditional Russian Jew, if he was a humanist, sought to create the modern Jew, and not simply the modern Jewish-German or Jewish-Russian. In fact, maskilim of the caliber of . . . Nahman Krochmal were devoutly religious Jews, infused with a genuine devotion to Jewish tradition and its perpetuation.[104]

Haskala and Zionism as Alternatives to Traditional Judaism

The search for a new Jewish identity within the new cultural reality of Europe led not to the perpetuation of Jewish tradition but rather to various philosophical trends. Each trend aimed at integrating Jewish identity into European currents of Rationalism and Nationalism. None of them satisfactorily resolved the problem of Jewish identity nor increased the Jew's ability to function as a whole person rather than as a split personality in the modern world.

The Haskala embraced four different currents: 1. the polemical-rationalist phase, concentrating on battering down the intellectual confines of the Pale (of Settlement), with its dogmatism and stress on the minutiae of pietistic observances; 2. the Maskeeleem, those writers who turned to a rather overglorified past for their inspiration; 3. positivism, which brought the Maskeeleem into the broad currents of European culture; and 4. the union of Haskala with Jewish nationalism, the pride of ancestry and the aspiration for corporate rebirth.

The first current is reflected in the works of Nachman Krochmal. He attempted to guide his generation along the road of idealist philosophy from Kant to

Hegel. He wanted to prove that there was no contradiction between Judaism and the principles of modern philosophy. Indeed, Krochmal successfully used Hegelian philosophy to demonstrate that Judaism was still valid, even after the Enlightenment. Sachar explains Krochmal's innovation as follows:

> In the manner of the German Idealists, Krochmal sought to identify the characteristics which made up the historic Jewish "spirit." Ultimately, he discovered that "spirit" in the Jewish people itself. By subsuming religion in the larger concept of nation, Krochmal laid the groundwork for the secular-nationalist philosophy of Jewish history . . .[105]

According to Hegel the unique contribution of each nation blends with others to form the cultural heritage of world history. The Volksgeist (Spirit of the Nation) of each nation is an integral part of the Weltgeist (Spirit of the World)--the expression of the Absolute Spirit. This is the Hegelian conception of the dialectical integration of the particular within the universal. Shlomo Avineri states that Krochmal's innovation is that

> he remained within the bounds of Jewish tradition that aspires to break away from the historical ties of the world culture. But not like other Maskeeleem from the Mendelssohnian school, he does not limit Judaism to its religious or moral attributes but sees it as an historiosophical framework of the "Spirit of the Nation" as other nations. . . if the People of Israel appears in Hegel as an essential contribution in the past, and only in the past, and its continued existence remains unexplained

> . . . with Krochmal, the continuation of the People of Israel's existence also after the appearance of Christianity is decisive proof of the absolute attributes of its essence . . . Israel becomes, with Krochmal, the only historical phenomenon which is also meta-historical. . . . In Israel the transient and the eternal meet. . . . The nations of the world, that attained hegemony through material and political power, are not the subject of true universalism but rather the People of Israel, whose power is the power of the spirit. . . . The Hegelization of Jewish history, which takes place . . . at one and the same time while struggling with Hegelian philosophy itself, constitutes a unique intellectual breakthrough . . . in the self-concept of Judaism in the generation after the French Revolution.[106]

If the first current of the Haskala was aimed at rational intellectuals, the second phase would have to be geared to a more popular target--the general Jewish public. They were now to enjoy the romantic aspects of the beauties and grandeurs beyond the confines of the Pale of Settlement. At first foreign works were translated into Hebrew. Kalman Schulman, a Vilna maskeel, translated Eugene Sue's Mysteries of Paris. Its exotic and garish nature apparently provided the answers for the Jews' yearning for Nature, beauty, love and action, and it was an immediate success. The next step was to leave exotic Europe and return to a romanticized version of the Biblical era. Mapu attempted to re-create heroic, Biblical reality in his historical romance, Ahavat Tsiyon (The Love of Zion),

published in 1853. Other such works by novelists, poets and essayists followed in its wake, and the Haskala reading public grew significantly. As Sachar points out, "The romantic mood of Haskalah, its sentimental tribute to ancient Zion, was revived in the 1880's, and directly influenced the emergence of cultural Zionism."[107]

In an apparent reaction to the glorification of the past at the expense of neglecting contemporary Jewish life, and in the spirit of Russian social reform the middle of the 19th century saw the appearance of Hebrew journals advocating educational and vocational improvements. Two men, J. L. Gordon and M. Lilienblum, represented this "Positivist" phase in Haskala development.

Although Gordon devoted his early literary career to romantic epics based on the Bible, his later works--mostly poetry and essays--were devoted to "rational" analyses of the social ills of contemporary Jewish life. Maintaining that despite the Jews' emancipation, their souls were still in chains, Gordon pressed his readers to dress and talk like Russians and to read Russian literature. He also advocated (as did his German-Jewish reform compatriots) that his People be "a Jew at home, and a man in the street."[108]

Lilienblum did not go so far as to advocate a split Jewish personality, as Gordon did. He spoke with the voice of a loyal, believing Jew. The Talmud, he claimed, was by its very nature reformist. He therefore pleaded with the rabbis in the Pale to interpret Jewish legalism more flexibly. Their reply was to drive him out of his domicile. This act apparently was a blessing in disguise, for in Odessa, his new home, he had greater freedom of expression and a larger reading public.

Although the idea of religious reform did not take root with the majority of the Maskeeleem, both Gordon and Lilienblum succeeded in bringing home secular ideas and values to multitudes of Russian Jews.

Perhaps they succeeded too well. In the days of Alexander II's quasi-emancipation, great numbers of Jews passed the economic and social "sound" barriers in Russian society. As a result some actually debased themselves with unfounded apologetica reminiscent of the German-Jewish assimilationists 50 years earlier--overstressing their "Russian" patriotism and playing down their distinct Jewish heritage and identity. The Russian language even replaced Hebrew in journalism. In 1856 such a weekly called Razvet ("Dawn") appeared with the aim of advocating "patriotism, emancipation and modernism."[109]

With the appearance of Peretz Smolenskin in the late 19th century, the fourth phase of the Haskala began. Within the space of his lifetime, the East European Jewish renaissance came full-circle: from "humanism" to assimilation to national consciousness. His novels contain an unusual objective balance--he refused to idealize his secular heroes, and even depicted them as near-assimilationists. On the other hand, he stressed those aspects of Ghetto life that were noble and decent. In Vienna he had founded a Hebrew-language monthly, Hashachar ("The Dawn"), and used it both against the parochialism of the Pale, on the one hand, and against modern assimilation on the other. As Smolenskin battered away at the Maskeeleem who aspired to "be like all the other nations" (exhorting them to be "like all other nations pursuing and attaining knowledge, leaving off from wickedness and folly . . . unashamed of the rock whence we have been hewn . . .).[110] Alexander II cancelled the Jewish emancipation so avidly sought by the Russian Maskeeleem. This decree strengthened Smolenskin's campaign for national regeneration. In 1872, he published his most important essay, Am Olam ("Eternal People") in which he attacked as bankrupt the post-Mendelssohnian concept of Judaism as only a religious faith. He also did not spare Gordon's duality of the

Jew. All of these attacks led him to conclude that the only resolution for positive Jewish identity was a moral and political rebirth of the Jewish People as a national entity. Thus Perez Smolenskin laid, *via* the vehicle of *Haskala*, the foundation for cultural and political Zionism.

None of the philosophical trends aiming at integration of the Jews into European cultural and national life satisfactorily resolved the problem of Jewish identity. Sachar offers an explanation but also attributes the emergence of two new movements to the *Haskala* in Eastern Europe.

> One of the reasons for the decline of Haskalah in Eastern Europe was the fact that it devoted its principal efforts to self-justification; it presented Russian Jewry with virtually no original ideas--save the idea that secular literature had the right to exist in the first place . . . the first breath of political reaction in Russia was enough to rout the kind of naive reformism which believed that all salvation lay in reading Western books and getting back to nature. Yet . . . the *Haskalah*--by creating a literate Jew . . . with an ear for practical as well as spiritual inspiration, . . . justified even the most contumacious of its advocates. Socialism and Zionism would never have been possible without the secularistic groundwork laid by the *maskilim*.[111]

Palestine as Zion

Since 70 C.E. when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and burned its Second Temple, putting an end to Jewish

cultural autonomy and political sovereignty in Judaea, the exiled Jewish People--no matter in what part of the world they lived nor in what century they lived--never forgot Zion. In their three official daily prayers a prayer for the restoration of Zion is included. It always constituted an integral part of Jewish thinking and religious experience. The Diaspora was seen as a temporary resting place--an inn--on the road back to Jerusalem.

Inasmuch as the Diaspora was seen as temporary, the Jew in daily prayers pleaded with God "to gather us up together from the four corners of the earth." In the same prayers, longing for autonomy and independence, the Jew asks God to "return to us our Judges as of yore. . ."

After each meal, while thanking God for food, the Jew also requests the Almighty to "pity your People of Israel, and Jerusalem your city, and Zion--the abode of your glory, and the Kingdom of the House of David, your anointed one . . . and build Jerusalem the Holy City quickly in our days."

On each of the three main holidays--The Feast of Weeks, Passover and the Feast of the Booths--the Jew always pleaded, "May it be your will, our God and God of our fathers . . . that you will build your Temple quickly . . . and bring us to Zion your city in song, and to Jerusalem your Temple in eternal joy. And there

we shall bring sacrifices before you as is our due . . ."

No matter where a Jew lived, the chronology of his or her life was measured by the calendar of ancient Palestine. The day after the Jewish New Year was always observed as a Fast Day in memory of Gedalyahu ben-Amikam, the disciple of the Prophet Jeremiah. This day commemorates his death. He was murdered by an assassin while serving Nebuchadnezzar as High Commissioner for Judaea after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 538 B.C.E. This memorial day not only commemorates Gedalyah's death but everything associated with him: the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem, the hope for renewed independence, and other events.

At the end of the Day of Atonement, the entire congregation chants several times, "Next Year in Jerusalem!" After reciting the saga of the Passover, the family seated around the Seder (Passover Meal) table sing forth, "Next Year in Jerusalem!" Jews living in snow-bound cities in Europe or the Americas continued to build the Succah (booth) in which they would dwell or at least have their meals for seven days during the season when the harvest in Palestine was due.

Hanuka always reminded the children of Israel of the successful Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid

Greeks in the second century B.C.E., and the subsequent re-dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem. The war was fought for cultural freedom but ended in ousting the Greeks from the country, re-establishing Jewish sovereignty. The Bishvat--Arbor Day--brought to the Jewish table with seven types of Palestinian fruit.

Lag Ba'Omer commemorates Bar-Kochba's unsuccessful revolt against Roman occupation of Palestine in the second century C.E. The day also joyfully marks the cessation of the plague among Rabbi Akiva's students, who were studying the Torah clandestinely, despite the Roman decree forbidding it.

The Feast of Weeks is also called the Feast of the First Fruit, marking the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the bringing of first crops and fruit to the Second Temple. In the Diaspora, the emphasis was on the Revelation of the Torah on Mt. Sinai, but the agricultural aspect was not neglected. On the ninth day of Av, which recalls the destruction of the First and Second Temples, Jews fasted and mourned the event as if it had happened in their own lifetime.

The physical connection with the Land of Israel was preserved by the continued presence there of small groups of Jews. This was true from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but after the seventh century,

C.E., their presence was more noticeable. After the Spanish Inquisition and the expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492, their numbers increased. In the 19th century, Hasidim and pious Jews settled in Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed and Hebron.

However, for the mass of Jews, the very thought of a physical return to Palestine was as absurd as the arrival of the real Messiah. But the coinciding movements of the Haskalah and the revival of the Hebrew language and of Hebrew literature, Jewish nationalism and Russian (Czarist) persecution all combined to turn the ostensibly impossible into reality. As Avineri points out,

> And this is the paradox: On the one hand, the attachment to and longing for the Land of Israel with unparalleled intensity, to the extent that it could be said that this attachment formed the identity of the Jewish People, and if it did not exist, the Jews would have become just another religious denomination without national identity. On the other hand, that same attachment and yearning was not translated into a popular movement of massive social significance that would have been able to change historical processes with regard to the settlement of the Land of Israel. Only when the appearance of modern Zionism turned potential (theory) into action, was hope turned into reality and the Land of Israel into a real center--and not only the ideal or the utopian--of the Jewish People.[112]

The rise of Zionism. Gordon and Smolenskin realized that Haskala "modernism" was becoming a facade for the abandonment of Jewish loyalties. Therefore, because he

sincerely doubted the permanency of emancipation, Smolenskin became the bridge between Jewish cultural nationalism and Zionism. Later, after the pogroms in Russia, he urged that Palestine be considered not only as a refuge for the persecuted Jews of Russia, but also as a territorial and spiritual center for the Jewish people, the kind of center America could never be. "Even if that land (Palestine) were inferior to all other countries," he wrote, "even if much work and effort be required to rebuild its waste lands, we should still choose Palestine, for that land is the symbol of our nationhood."[113]

Critical stage: human intervention to hasten Messiah. Rabbi Alkalai (1798-1878), Rabbi Kalisher (1795-1874) and Moses Hess (1812-1875) constituted, each in his own way, the bridge between Jewish tradition and secular Zionism. They were also the first ideologists of Jewish nationalism. Kalisher and Alkalai claimed that the national effort for Zion was the base upon which non-religious and anti-religious Jews could stand together with Orthodox Jews. On the external front, they aimed to exploit the rising wave of European nationalism to establish a new-old home which would house ancient values and which would not be subject to change and modification.

Alkalai, in 1834, proposed that Jewish settlements be established in the Land of Israel as a "vestibule" for the coming of the Messiah. This was quite radical for an Orthodox Jew of that time, since the traditional approach was that the Messianic era would arrive miraculously from Heaven. Kalisher, also a "renegade" from classical Judaism, maintained that the beginnings of Redemption would come naturally through the will of governments to gather in the exiles of Israel into the Holy Land through the labor of man.[114]

Radical interpretations. Moses Hess (1812-1875) learned Hebrew and Jewish studies as a child but later turned to philosophy in a German, assimilationist environment. He devoted the first thirty years of his adult life to international causes. Upon his return to Jewish sources, and especially in his book, Rome and Jerusalem, he attempts to build Jewish nationalism on a synthesis between Jewish values and socialist principles. At the same time he strikes out at Western Jews who have the potential to "breathe a new life into the whole of our religion" but ignore it, devoting themselves to non-Jewish activities.[115]

Leon Pinsker (1821-1891), a firmly committed "enlightener," asserted in his book, Autoemancipation, in 1882, that anti-Semitism, which he called Judophobia,

would be a permanent psychopathological phemenon, not only a social one. This would be the case as long as Jews were a "ghost nation"--everywhere a minority and nowhere a normal majority; everywhere guests and nowhere hosts.

Pinsker was disillusioned with the era of emancipation, which endowed the Jews with individual equality in Europe. Nevertheless, his outlook was still emancipatory, insofar as it claimed the Jews as equals in the modern world. Because he believed that the nations of the world strongly disliked foreigners, however, he insisted that the Jews had to cease to be "foreign" by becoming a proper nation.

Commenting on Pinsker's cosmopolitan outlook, Avineri stresses that

> Pinsker sees the Jewish question not only from a limited point of view of Jewish distress but attributes this distress to basic processes passing over European society; and from the principles of this society he wishes to find a solution to the Jewish question.
>
> Pinsker's criticism of . . . the demand for emancipation is double: pragmatic and in principle. Pragmatic--the events of 1881 proved that emancipation in itself is not a solution; in principle--inherent in the solution of emancipation is the assumption that the Jews are a passive object of historical development: <u>they</u> have to be liberated, rights should be given <u>them</u>, one must relate to <u>them</u> out of equality and tolerance, the historical subject crystallizing these solutions being the nations of the world; the Jews remain a passive factor. According to Pinsker, in a world based on self-determination . . . he

> demands that the Jews be transformed once again into an active factor in history, a factor conscious of itself and carrying itself in the course of its historical activity. The Diaspora means passivity, and liberation cannot be bought by the awarding of charity by the nations of the world.[116]

Practical application: land settlement. In the very year that Pinsker published his book, Autoemancipation, as if activated by a conditioned-reflex to his argument, about seven thousand young Jews left for Palestine from Russia. They had been exposed to the cultural activities of an organization called Hovevei Tzion (Lovers of Zion) and were inspired by what they saw and heard. This group, forced to conduct its activities clandestinely in Russia, held Hebrew language classes and offered courses in Jewish history, initiated gymnastic and self-defense groups. Leon Pinsker was elected president of their organization. Most of them were Russian-Jewish students who were mobile, moving from one university to another, and in intimate contact with cultural and financial resources of the West. They carried with them no social ideology when they settled in Palestine but they sincerely believed that as individuals and as small nuclei, they were liberating themselves from the oppression of the Diaspora.

They founded the first agricultural settlements along the coast and in Galilee: Rishon LeZion, Zichron

Yaakov, Petah Tikvah and Rosh Pinah. However, though they succeeded more than their idealistic compatriots, the Bilueem, they began to wonder if they had come to Palestine merely to resume the statusless existence that had characterized their lives in Russia. This led to the conclusion that by itself, settlement was far too tortuous and precarious. A bold and more drastic solution was needed. In 1896, such a solution was formulated by an assimilated Western Jew, Theodore Herzl.

Political Zionism. The solution that Herzl was to bring to the Jewish People--political Zionism--could perhaps have not been formulated without the practical settlement of the young Lovers of Zion nor without the idealistic devotion of the Bilueem.[117] In the same period of Hovevei Tzion's aliya, three dozen Jewish Russian university students combined Marxist zeal with Jewish national fervor as they determinedly "went up" to the Land (under Turkish rule) to settle as farmers and laborers, and not as peddlers and petty tradesmen (the stereotypes of the Pale of Settlement).[118]

Theodore Herzl, almost unaware of these two movements of practical settlement in Palestine, nevertheless provided them with the solution for their statuslessness. After covering Dreyfus' trial in Paris as correspondent

for the liberal daily, Neue Freie Presse, Herzl wrote the book, The Jewish State (Der Judenstaat). This act marked a radical departure from his former thinking in which he had gone so far as to advocate total national assimilation. This, he discovered, was impracticable, since anti-Semites did not distinguish between traditional and assimilated Jews. He therefore argued that the essence of the Jewish problem was not individual but national, and spoke of the establishment of a commission that would survey the possible territories on which the Jewish State would be founded. He left open the question as to whether it would be better to opt for Palestine with its historic associations or for some vacant land in Argentina, though later he did opt for Palestine.

Herzl's originality lay in his interpretation of anti-Semitism as a "reasonable" form of hatred of the unlike. He argued that even anti-Semites could and should be enlisted in the struggle for a Jewish State, since it would help them solve their problems with the Jews. These Jews were "unnecessary" in the host societies and their very existence disturbed social peace. Since Herzl assumed that men were reasonable and not demonic (he went so far as to say that the emancipation was basically irreversible), he presumed that history would advance to

produce the only possible solution to the tension between the Jews and the majority of society--a Jewish State.

Herzl's unique personality added another dimension to his originality. "The very mobility of his person," Hertzberg notes, "the appearance of a man who suggested the ancient prophet and seemed the equal of great statesmen of his own day, lent resonance to Herzl's words, and he was particularly moving to masses of Jews in Eastern Europe precisely because he was a 'Westerner' come back to his people."[119]

Yet as an original contribution to the formation of the Zionist movement, his tactics were more important than his thought or his personality. Into the face of anti-Semites who had made the word "Jew" an insult, and of the assimilationists who used such circumlocution as "Hebrew" and "Israelite," he spoke boldly of the "Judenstaat," which means not "the Jewish State" but literally, "the Jew State."

The East-European Jews did not err when they venerated him as a "Westerner," for he thought in the exclusively Western terms of the period. Among the new political instruments he helped to create, the most significant one was the Zionist bank, established by the buying of shares. This bank was called the Jewish Colonial Trust. (Stress added.)[120]

Inasmuch as Herzl saw the Jewish question as an international political issue, and apparently due to his naive faith in an "enlightened" Europe involved in the process of emancipating nations as well as individuals, he held that the first objective of the Zionist movement was the attainment of a charter. This was to be a political document granting Jews near-sovereign rights in the territory they were to settle.[121]

After Herzl's death in 1904, the major thrust of Zionist activity was toward "Synthetic Zionism." Haim Weizman, who became the acknowledged leader of the movement by 1917, coined this term. To him and other leaders this meant a commitment to the immediate tasks of cultural Hebraic revival and gradual Jewish settlement in Palestine.

The Marxist approach. Since one of the immediate tasks of Zionist activity was practical settlement of the land, it is not surprising that Socialist Zionism was the most important ideology of that era. Ber Borochov (1881-1917), a Marxist, maintained that the Jews were everywhere rejected aliens because their economic pursuits were unproductive or peripheral. They were middlemen, small craftsmen or "luftmenschen" (men living on air) who were not integrally bound to the primary forms of economic activity. The mass flight from

Russia, Rumania and other countries would, in Borochov's view, eventually propel Jews toward the land within which a proper kind of national economy could be created. Apparently Borochov was reacting to the Marxist assumption that the Jews were not a nation because of the absence of a peasant class in their midst. Thus many settlers of the Second Aliyah, the first of whom was A.D. Gordon, believed that only a return to the soil could properly realize socialism.

Refuting Marx's slogan, "The workers do not have a homeland," Borochov maintained that so long as the national society is oppressed, the class struggle becomes distorted. Therefore, national liberation is necessary to consolidate the class struggle. In this way, he believed that Zionism and socialism were compatible and actually complementary. Zionism was needed to liberate the stateless Jewish people; the Jewish State could only be established on socialist guidelines.[122]

Labor Zionism. Although A. D. Gordon (1856-1922) came to settle on the land in Palestine at the age of 48 as a socialist, he did not accept Borochov's approach. Nothing could change "man," he said, except "man himself." He writes that "the more man takes from nature, the farther he moves away from it. The more wealth he acquires, the more industrious are his labors for

building a thick barrier between himself and nature."[123] Humanity's alienation from nature can be remedied, says Gordon, only when the direct connection between people and nature has been restored. This regeneration for the Jew who had been uprooted from nature could take place only in the Land of Israel. Thus Gordon's humanism and nationalism meet.

Gordon saw the nation as a funnel through which "at its wide receiving end endless existence is poured in, while through its concentrated, restricted end the funnel empties its contents into the soul of man." The nation thus becomes an instrument "which creates the spirit of man. It is the link which unites the life of the individual to the life of mankind and to the world at large."[124]

Turning to his fellow pioneers on the Kibbutz, he wrote,

> We must return fully to nature, to work, to creativity, and to a sense of order and spirituality characteristic of family-nationhood. . . . There is no improvement . . . of life unless it be through the elevation of man. Nor can there be improvement . . . of the group, unless it come through the . . . elevation of the individual . . . the improvement of the individual . . . come(s) through the . . . elevation of the whole. This is mutual interaction, but also a magic circle. . . . The builder, the carpenter . . . the factory worker . . . must . . . realize that he is a living being whose spiritual needs are as vital to him as his physical demands. . . . Like us, the

> farmers, he must strive toward the goal wherein the important thing . . . must be not the wage he receives for his work, but the work itself--the product of his labor. . . . Do we not see that while he is producing his wares for others that those others are laboring to fulfill his needs?[125]

Mutual social interaction and dialogical relationships between persons and nature, person and person and a person and God (partnership in completing God's unfinished world) all constitute the heart of Gordon's "religion of labour." He himself attempted to personally implement it by working the land, and by teaching this philosophy to his close, collective environment as well as the national one. Noveck attempts to sum up Gordon's world view as follows:

> . . . the bearing of art on work . . . is the vision of life which determines the social purpose of work. . . . For the Jewish people . . . Gordon saw work in terms of the ancient conception of man's partnership with God in the process of creation. . . . But he can succeed only if the means he employs are in accord with the divine order of things. How does man know what is divine? By studying and using nature with artistic imagination, tempered by the discipline of science. . . . He looked forward to a balanced society of village and city, of farming and industry . . . achieved only under the impact of a conception of work as a source of a new life and creativity.
>
> Assessing Gordon's . . . influence on Jewish life is . . . recalling the impact he had on the ideology of the kibbutz movement. . . . He taught . . . the meaning of spiritual nationalism and provided . . . the patience and courage to work at the back-breaking job of reclaiming the worn-out soil of Eretz Yisrael.

> He and others like him gave a soul to a political movement and kept alive the vision of Jewish ethical Messianism.[126]

Land of Israel as cultural and spiritual center. Although Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), better known by his pen-name, Ahad Ha-am (one of the people) and A. D. Gordon were born in the same year and came from the Russian Ukraine, there were many differences in their world views and in their attitudes to Judaism. Ahad Ha-am was essentially a rationalist. Gordon wrote emotionally, from his heart. Ahad Ha-am saw Palestine as a creative cultural center of the Jewish People from which knowledge would flow to the Diaspora. Gordon's emphasis was on the individual's contribution to the Land of Israel. Ahad Ha-am did not believe that Palestine would be built up by Jewish labor. Gordon was optimistic about the possibility of turning the Diaspora Jew into a productive worker in the Land of Israel, and devoted himself to the realization of this aim. The main difference between the two, despite their common, intensive Judaic background, was their attitude toward empirical materialism and creative spirituality; Gordon believed that men and women had entered a new age of religiosity--an era of naturalism. Therefore, he maintained, Judaism and the concept of God must be reinterpreted. On the other hand, Ahad Ha-am

rejected supernaturalism, and assumed that religion and morality could be explained by humankind's will to survive and adapt to changing circumstances. Thus he advocated that Jewish nationalists observe Jewish tradition almost only for its survival value.

According to Ahad Ha-am, although ethics determine the character of the national spirit of a people, they are relative and not absolute. One nation can consider a given ethic good while another one would label it bad. The essence of Jewish ethics, he states, is "the predominance of the spiritual life over physical force, the search for truth and justice in thought and deed, and an eternal struggle against falsehood and wickedness."

However, Ahad Ha-am claims, in the wake of the Enlightenment, Jewish hope began to wane, the process of atrophy began to decimate language and culture, Reform Judaism had only superficial solutions to reconcile tradition with modernism, and fragmentation was weakening the national spirit. All that was left was "a negative awareness" that Jews were not "normal." This negative approach could not, in the long run, ensure Jewish survival.

To overcome all of the above negative phenomena, Ahad Ha-am proposed the establishment of a spiritual

center in Palestine. In 1907, to clarify his concept of a spiritual center, he stressed that it would not only consist of spiritual institutions but would work out a system involving practical and material matters such as farming, craftsmen, laborers and merchants.

Although he hoped the Jews would constitute a majority in the land in order to control the necessary institutions that shape the culture of the country, he did not aspire to Jewish sovereignty. He believed that some sort of autonomy would be set up in Palestine, but nothing beyond that. Thus there would be created "new patterns of Jewishness, which we need so desperately and cannot find in the Diaspora." It would develop a "new kind of Jew . . . and lead to greater cultural creativity."[127]

Religious Zionism. Although religious "political" Zionism came late to the movement, there were, as seen above (Alkalai and Kalisher), Orthodox thinkers who believed that human intervention in Divinely guided history could only hasten the coming of the Messiah or the Messianic era. One such man was Rabbi Shmuel Mohliver (1824-1898), the founder of the first "political" religious party in the Zionist movement--the Mizrahi.

After the Russian pogroms of 1881, participating

in a meeting in Lemberg, Poland, that was to decide the fate of the Jewish refugees, he proposed that they be evacuated to Palestine. Though his suggestion was rejected he continued to encourage and support Jewish settlement there--working within Hibat Tsion, a secular and partially anti-religious movement. His involvement in such a group was to determine the approach of the religious Zionist "party" that was to rise in the future. On the one hand, Rabbi Mohliver tried to convince religious circles that in a time of national danger they should cooperate with secular organizations. On the other hand, he pressured the Zionist movement to consider the practical, daily religious demands of the Mizrahi Party in order not to abandon Jewish content altogether.[128]

Rabbi Meir Bar-Illan (1880-1949), a contemporary and friend of Mohliver, was not willing to compromise with secular circles. Nevertheless, he was one of the main advocates of Jewish settlement in Palestine. Before the First World War, while spending some time in Germany, he was very impressed with a new type of German-Jew. This type was uncompromisingly Orthodox yet ostensibly modern in every way. He hoped that this type of Jew would serve as an example for the new Jew that was to develop in the renewed Land of Israel. Even

after he discovered that this "new" type of Orthodox Jew was very anti-Zionist, he still nurtured the hope that his original dream could be realized.

Bar-Ilan's educational program for the future Jewish state was reflected in an article written in 1921. In reality, since the establishment of the State of Israel, his hopes and plans have been more than realized, due to Israel's unique parliamentary coalition system. Some of his suggestions follow:

> . . . for it is our will and hope that Jews from all countries will come to the land of the Jews. The Sephardeem, coming from Oriental countries, are beloved to us just as the Ashkenazeem are--from European countries; the Yemenites, far from modern life are desirable to us no less than the Americans. And how shall we arrange the mores of the State and the laws of life--in the spirit of the "dark" Yemenites or in the spirit of the "enlightened" Americans? . . . It is our conviction that the . . . only means to unite all of the People of Israel, with all its classes and parties within the order of one government, is to renew our life according to the written and oral Torah. But together with this, we are not permitted to approach the matter lightly and to cancel--in one sweep--all the mores and emotions of this generation. And if these mores contradict the laws of our Torah, we must correct them gradually. We must begin our work not by legislation but by educating the sons . . .
>
> If we want to continue our spiritual life and not create a new Judaism, we must turn our schools into ones where not only languages and specialization takes place but where the knowledge of the Oral Law (Talmud) and everything connected with it should take an important place in the curriculum. The Talmud and its appendages should become the heritage of all of Israel, i.e., of all literates. . . . Every pupil must know the Talmudic method and its spirit, even though he might not devote

himself to these studies when he goes out to the market of life.[129]

Abraham Isaac Kuk (1865-1935), Chief Rabbi of Palestine during the British Mandate, was a religious nationalist, one of the most unique Orthodox personalities of the 20th century and a legendary figure both in Israel and in the Diaspora. Though he was familiar with modern thought and classical culture, he drew his inspiration from Jewish sources to build a new methodology integrating the centrality of Palestine in religious consciousness. This new system was made possible by his new radical religious interpretation of political-practical Zionism. In this way he facilitated the closing of the gap between Orthodox Judaism and the national Zionist trend.

In his essay, "The Mission of Israel and Its Nationhood," Kuk attributes holiness to the dynamic creative urge of the Jewish People, which perpetually creates new values and takes on new forms. Kuk regarded the new secular Hebrew art and literature developing in Palestine as Godly, and approved of them as divine products of the enlightenment and the national revival.

By exalting nationalism to the level of a sacred principle Kuk transcended the nationalists. This principle constituted a divine creative ferment growing out

of the bond between Israel and Torah. He believed that national feeling can be obtained through nearness to God, for that nearness provides the Jew with the sense of being rooted in God's world, and encourages him or her to be true to himself or herself in the deepest sense.

Typical of his approach to modern Jewish heretics, Kuk described the Pioneers in Palestine as follows: Even if they negate Jewish tradition, in the cosmic scheme of things they unwittingly constitute a positive force towards the realization of Redemption through their idealistic devotion to the upbuilding of the land. Typical, too, of this Rabbi was the curriculum of the Talmudic academy he founded in Jerusalem in 1921. In addition to the usual study of the Talmud, the veshiva (Talmudic Academy) was also to teach scientific and secular subjects. He justified this radical innovation by explaining that a teacher could only communicate and inform his people if he would be acquainted with the ideas that set the style of the generation.

In this spirit, Noveck describes Kuk's concept of holiness and perfection within the Jewish national context.

> In light of his inner vision, Kuk expanded the meaning of holiness beyond the borders of dogma and ritual. . . . The holy was the forward thrust of the divine power, an upward ceaseless impetus toward perfection. . . . The drive toward

> perfection found in the universe and in society is a phase of the Divine Will. The inventions of the scientists, the visions of statesmen, the conscience of the masses are somehow related and made possible by the worship of the saints and their mystical experiences. In this way, Kuk bridges the gap between the "religious" and the "secular" realms, maintaining that there is no such dichotomy. The entire universe is one in essence. Out of the worship of such saints, creative energy is generated for the advance of society in all fields, in science, art, and human welfare.
>
> In essence, every effort for the improvement of society is worship in action . . . "the lights of the Messiah" . . . appear whenever any forward step is taken in the advance of mankind toward perfection . . . (Jewish "Messianic lights" can appear only in) the Land of Israel . . . and . . . only there would the Jewish people regain that unique endowment in its perfection which enabled them to "draw down" divine help for the advance of mankind toward the goals of redemption.[130]

Jabotinsky's "hationalism": expression of European culture. Whereas Rabbi Kuk stressed the "holy" dimensions of Jewish nationalism, Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880-1940), the founder and leader of the Revisionist Zionist movement, set Jewish nationalism as the central world view of the movement. He actually moved away from Jewish values and symbols, religious and secular.

Two other aspects of his veltanshaung--his Hobbesian philosophy of life and his negation of the Oriental character of Israel--would seem to be the consistent as well as un-Jewish adjuncts of his nationalist philosophy.

In 1910, in his article, "Man to Man is Wolf,"

Jabotinsky writes:

> Wise was the philosopher who said Homo homini lupus, . . . and for some time we shall not be able to correct it, not by reform in the management of the state, not with the aid of culture and even not with the bitter lessons of life. . . . Foolish is the man who believes his neighbour, no matter how good and sweet he may be. Foolish is the man who depends on justice: justice exists only for those who back it up with fists and stubbornness. . . . When they reprove me for isolationism, a lack of faith and other things difficult for delicate aesthetes, I want to reply: I admit my guilt. The lack of faith . . . the club in the hand all the time--this is the only means for survival in struggling with the wolf.[131]

He saw nationalism as a vital and activist base embracing such areas of life as literature, art and music. In 1919, he writes that there are two types of literature--reflective and active. The weakness of modern Hebrew literature, Jabotinsky says, is that it is mainly reflective. He notes that

> We, as a developing nation, need literature that awakens to action. We need a founding and building generation . . . men of healthy imagination and of strong will, aspiring to express itself in the war for life. Dostoyevski and K. Hamson will not educate for us such a generation . . . . Our genuine internal world has not yet been created, and there is nothing to look at. The external world is awaiting us--in it we shall act and in it we shall build . . .[132]

Even though this Revisionist leader denegrates reflection, he deals essentially in reflective thinking when he praises the cultural superiority of Europe. He sees Zionism as an expression of this European cultural might. In 1927, in an article entitled, "The

Fashion of Arabesque," he polemicized with those in the Zionist movement who saw in the Return to Zion a return to the Orient. He claims that Jewish culture was European because European culture itself was based on Jewish foundations. Thus, Israel's place was in the "West" and not in the "Orient." Therefore his outlook on Sepharadeem and Mizraheem is not surprising when he declares:

> We Jews . . . do not have any connection with that "Orient," perhaps less than many European nations have.
>
> Of course, the fact that our origin is from Asia is no reason. All of central Europe is full of races that also came from Asia--and came much later than we did. All the Ashkenazee Jews and certainly half of the Sepharadeem have been residing in Europe almost 2,000 years. Enough time for spiritual integration. . . not only have we dwelt in Europe for many generations, and not only have we learned in Europe: we, the Jews, have been one of those nations that created the European culture . . . we have rights in it (Europe) exactly as the Germans, Italians and English and French: copyrights. And in Palestine this creation of ours will continue . . .[133]

A year later Jabotinsky attempted to translate this outlook into political action when he tried to convince his fellow Zionists that there existed absolute identity of interests in the Middle East between the British aims and the aims of the Zionist movement. Perhaps due to his assumptions about the relationship between Europe and the Jewish People, he believed that British and Western support for a Jewish Commonwealth

in Palestine would not damage British influence in the Arab world. In "What the Zionist Revisionists Want," Jabotinsky explains:

> Among all the colonial countries of European powers, today there is only one country that is developing and growing at an unparalleled pace . . . and that land is Palestine. . . . Moreover, in the Mediterranean--the corridor of England to the East, where . . . the danger of anti-European trends exists, the Jews are building the only support which, from a moral point of view, belongs to Europe, and will always belong to her.[134]

However, apparently he was not able to read the writing on the wall which had appeared a decade earlier. At that time Jabotinsky had demanded a permanent Jewish military force in Palestine under the aegis of the British, using similar reasons to justify his claims. When he tried to organize Jewish self-defense during the 1929 riots in Palestine, the British arrested him.

But even after all this had transpired, the leader of the Revisionists stuck to his obsession to the end of his life in 1940. He opposed the radical trends in his own movement which demanded an open revolt against the British. At the end of the Second World War, Menahem Begin--his disciple, and the leader of the Irgun Zevai Leumi Underground Movement--declared and implemented open revolt against the British; it would seem that Jabotinsky's theories had been totally refuted. Even Ben-Gurion, his socialist protagonist, with the aid of

Haganah Underground conducted a powerful military campaign against the British White Paper of 1939.[135]

It must be noted here that whereas Jabotinsky's anti-Oriental attitude and pro-European "obsession" were very explicit and lucidly presented without inhibitions, most other Zionist thinkers and the movements they represented did not allude in any way to the East-West problem, either on the international level or on the internal Sepharadee-Ashkenazee one. It should be obvious, therefore, that the combined overt attitude of Jabotinsky, together with the "silent" approach of those who opposed him in the Zionist movement created a conducive atmosphere and environment for the development of the sociocultural gap in the Zionist movement, and later, in Israel.

The Canaanite movement. An ideology more important for its "grass-roots" implications than for its political involvement was what was called "Canaanite Zionism." J. H. Brenner was the originator of this stream of thought. A Hebrew writer of the early 20th century, he regarded the national past and most of the Jewish heritage as weak, cringing and unworthy. Because there had already been a radical break with the Jewish past, he saw the establishment of the future Jewish state as the propitious moment for the realization of such a

change. Such a transformation, he maintained, would be embodied in a national Canaanism, i.e., the culture existing in the land of Canaan prior to the arrival of the Israelites.

Before the establishment of Israel in 1948, Brenner's ideas took root among a tiny group of Jewish writers, intellectuals and academics. They never attempted to become a political movement although they did found, in the 1950's, a pressure group called "The League Against Religious Coercion." Their aim was to legislate civil marriage and divorce laws alongside the existing religious ones. However, despite a great deal of publicity, they failed to accomplish their aim.[136]

The "grass-roots" implications of Canaanism mentioned above are reflected in the Sabra (native-born Israelis) attitude toward Judaism on the one hand, and toward Israel on the other. The contemporary writer, Yael Dayan, believes that Israel's heritage is "here!" Reacting to the Israel Ministry of Education's program to encourage and deepen the learning of the Jewish Oriental heritage, Dayan identifies herself as of Russian-Jewish origin. She states that,

> The general trend in Degania and Nahalal . . . of our youth, third generation native-born, grandchildren of the Second Aliyah . . . was to divest themselves of the vestiges of Russian or East European heritage and create something new. . . . Religious sensitivity or traditional

> customs are not included in my heritage. . . . My two brothers were not confirmed at Bar-Mitzvah. . . . What I did receive was within the reach of each and every one and . . . is not involved in the deep culture of my forefathers: I received language and roots not far from the railroad tracks of the Valley of Jezreel. . . . Not from overseas, not from Commentaries and the Talmud, not from European culture . . . and not from a special attitude towards erudition. . . . The feeling of security and rootedness was something that was created between the chicken-coop and the cow-shed in Nahalal, with roots (towards) below and a look to Mount Carmel, Mount Gilboa . . . without involving the matter of the Russian Wastes and the suburbs of Leningrad. . . . A ceramic candelabrum from the period of Abraham still remains the common denominator between me, my children and the children of those originating from Tunisia and Yemen . . . and there is no reason that the children of the Lahish region and the Jerusalem Corridor (post-1948 settlements) should be less proud of their villages than we, who have grown up on the tradition of Nahalal and Kibbutz Degania--without having to be exposed to special nurturing of their countries of origin. . . . If the residents of the (slum) neighbourhoods were taken on trips more often to get to know and love nature and the landscape, the ties would be stronger . . .137

It would seem that Dayan's attitude toward Jewish values provides a clearer concrete demonstration of their erosion among Israeli-born Jews than any theoretical presentation of the problem. Her life experience as a Sabra, reflects not only a deep attachment to the land but also a strong alienation from the cultural and ethnic roots of the Jewish People, whatever their origin. It remains to be seen whether such "Israeli" identity is shallow "local-patriotism" or a

new, more meaningful version of Jewish values.

Nevertheless, Dayan inadvertently hints at the flaw in her approach when she stresses that the vast majority of North African Jews remained in France (and did not "ascend" to Israel). She attributed two reasons for this: 1. they did not retain their ethnic customs, and 2. they received absolutely equal educational opportunity there, and utilized it optimally.

Assimilation facilitates Zionism: erodes Judaism. What Dayan is actually describing is a process of acculturation during the past century leading to assimilation in all of those Western societies which have extended equal opportunity to individuals regardless of race or religion. To the extent that these Western countries also supported nationalism, they coincided with the aspiration of classical Jewish tradition to redeem the whole of the Jewish People.

Paradoxically, as monolithic Western culture encouraged assimilation, those Jews in the West who identified with Zionism found it easier to divest themselves of Jewish values. Benjamin Akzin points out that in Europe and in North Africa both types--the traditional Jew and the Zionist who acculturated in order to obtain emancipation, sooner or later assimilated.

Akzin discusses the problem of assimilation vis-à-vis the three great events in Jewish history during the past century: the emergence of Zionism, the Holocaust, and the establishment of the Jewish state.

> With the advent of (political) Zionism, the difference between those advocating assimilation and those negating it did not disappear. On the contrary . . . Zionism augmented the polarity between the two main conceptions . . . among the Orthodox (Jews), as well as among the religious innovators . . . and also among the secular. . . . Up to the Balfour Declaration Zionism dialectically strengthened the assimilationists. After 1917 . . . Zionism strengthened those who negated assimilation. In this connection . . . the stand of Agudat Yisrael (an ultra-Orthodox, anti-Zionist group) is most interesting. Its members are not assimilationists but before the Balfour Declaration their opposition to Zionism was absolute . . . because Zionism was conceived by them as an attempt to break through the wall of Exile, and to rebel against the rule of the nations which, in their opinion, was against the Halacha (Jewish Law). With the Balfour Declaration, their opposition weakened. When the Declaration was given, it could be said that now it was not a revolt against the nations since the governments of the nations agreed . . . and also non-Jewish factors began to talk of Jewish rights in Palestine. . . . With the establishment of the State of Israel, the Aguda became almost pro-Zionist--not only because of pragmatic reasons but also in principle; after it (the State) had materialized, it was a sign that reality had a raison d'être, otherwise it would not have arisen. (Stress added.)[138]

Akzin points out that there was no doubt that Zionism had from its inception reinforced Jewish ethnicity among almost all the non-religious Jews who had assimilationist tendencies.

The Holocaust considerably weakened the emotional

motive to assimilate. To a certain extent, it also weakened the intellectual motive because reality had disappointed those who had believed that the Emancipation would abolish anti-Semitism. Even during the Holocaust and immediately afterwards there were individuals who came to the opposite conclusion--to hasten the process of total assimilation. "I doubt," Akzin states, "whether the anti-assimilationist influence of the Holocaust would have lasted for a long time, had not the State of Israel been established."[139] Until its establishment, secular Jews could only express Jewish solidarity abstractly, nebulously. For the religious and traditional Jew this was not so. However, for the vast majority of Jews, who were "enlightened," the creation of the third Jewish commonwealth stimulated Diaspora Jewry to identify with it and also with the entire Jewish ethnic group. However, as Akzin points out, to this day voluntary assimilation tendencies have not entirely disappeared, nor has anti-Semitism vanished. It, too, crystallizes ethnic consciousness on the one hand, and encourages assimilation on the other.

Akzin touches upon a unique, paradoxical problem in what he calls "Assimilation in the State of Israel." Zionism had always assumed that with territorial concentration and political sovereignty there would be

no reason to be concerned about assimilation within the Jewish state. Akzin explains,

> I am less concerned with solidarity consciounness among Diaspora Jews than with the lack of . . . indentification by . . . the . . . young Israeli generation with Diaspora Jewry. In the Diaspora there exists . . . a lack of identification between the existential experience . . . and . . . the consciousness of belonging . . . to the Jewish People as a whole, i.e., the desire to perpetuate that belonging. The existential experience in the Land of Israel is Jewish; Jewish in a new way, different from what it was in the Eastern (European) Exile, and from all it had been in the Exile of Islamic countries. But with all the difference, it is still the experience of a Jewish society. However, experience and consciousness are not one and the same . . .[140]

For the past twenty years the Ministry of Education has been fostering "Jewish Consciousness" as a result of its awareness of this situation. But at best the program produced an "affective" awareness of Jewish values--not "consciousness."

Akzin points to two cultural phenomena that evolved with statehood: 1. a transformation of popular Jewish culture into many forms, as had occurred in the Diaspora, natural and legitimate, and 2. a phenomenon of neo-Hellenism. The use of English as the spoken tongue is symptomatic among many parts of the population. Just as in acient Maccabean times Hellenism brought about almost total assimilation among its advocates, so today, neo-Hellenism can bring about the same results. Although Akzin believes that in the modern world it is impossible

to totally escape such developments, he warns Israel of the dangers inherent in them. In warning of these dangers, he recalls Canaanite Zionism which is now called "Israelism."

> For many, the object of this consciousness is not the Jewish People as a collective entity. The object for them is what they call Israelism. For some years, they talked about Canaanism, Semitism. But these slogans lost their attractiveness . . . Israelism . . . that came in place of Jewish consciousness, is also an ideology . . . perhaps there is more of an ideology than being drawn to interests. For our interests tie us . . . to Diaspora Jewry whereas the Israelicentric ideology negates--in principle--the centrality of the Jewish People.141

Dayan's testimony influenced by the Canaanite "atmosphere" and Akzin's analysis strongly substantiated the assumption that Western values have corroded Jewish values, not only in the Diaspora but also in the Jewish state. This historical, political and societal phenomenon must be examined using the tools and methods of contemporary analysis (such as that of William Smith). Such an analysis will facilitate a dialogical approach in education to narrow the multifaceted gap in Israel.

Erosion of Judaism; Zionist Transformation in Light of Freire's "Conscientizacão"

The erosion of Jewish values in Europe and in the Mediterranean Basin was the result of the Enlightenment and the Emancipation. This corrosion was also the

cause underlying the creation of the Jewish Renaissance, the Haskala and multifarious Zionism. The transformation which occurred in Jewish life over the last two centuries constituted a traumatic revolution in modern Jewish history. Freire's "conscientizacão" philosophy and methodology is helpful in understanding the complexities of that revolution. Not only is it suitable for application to Israel's educational reality in the future. It also constitutes an excellent analytical tool to understand the past, as reflected in the historical process in Jewish history heretofore described. Its comprehension will throw light on the sociocultural gap in Israel today.

William A. Smith's "Conscientizacão Coding Categories Diagram," an instrument reflecting Freire's approach, is used in this study; therefore, modifications of Freire's stages of consciousness appearing here relate to Smith's schema. With regard to Smith's codification scheme, two points of clarification must be made before presenting it within the context of this study:

1. The contention that Smith's approach is a rational, scientific method for analyzing human behaviour is open to question. Even if it were not, the claim that one is consistent who attacks rationalism on the one hand, and uses Smith's method on the other, is incongruous in itself. For both the "claimant" and the

"claimee" are functioning within a rational, Western framework.[142] All the criteria of this study are based on "rational" premises. Thus it is not plausible to request that one abstain from using a "rational" instrument to enhance dialogical, liberating education because the utilizer of that instrument attacks rationalism. The alternatives to rationalism presented here are based on the Jewish-oriented concept of "Integral Morphology of Consciousness."[143] Nevertheless, the tools and the forms to explain these alternatives are inherently rational.

2. The same rebuttal is true for the argument that Smith's method was drawn from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), critically described as a quantitative approach to the analysis of human psychology. If Smith maintains that Freire's three stages constitute three progressively higher levels of consciousness,[144] this does not necessarily make it hierarchical, for it does not imply that one stage is superior to another, nor does it contradict the contention that people are both the creators and creatures of their environment. They are so, no matter what is their stage of consciousness. What distinguishes the various stages from one another is that people are at different degrees of awareness at each stage in their dialectical relationship

with the world around them. There is also mobility and ambivalence all along the spectrum of stages.

The practical application of Freire's philosophy to Israeli education is dealt with in Chapter V of this study. Here, his philosophy and Smith's coding categories are presented within the context of the erosion of Jewish values and the Zionist transformation during the past two centuries.

Paulo Freire's method as interpreted by William Smith. Freire maintains that persons have free choice to be enslaved or to be free and responsible. Whereas animals are "enslaved" by their limited adaptive capacities to the world, human orientation in the world is a "Liberating" one. For men and women it means humanizing the world by transforming it. The option to do this is conditioned on reflection, transcendence, temporality and internationality. Freire explains that,

> Men . . . because they are aware of themselves and thus of the world--because they are conscious beings--exist in a dialectical relationship between the determination of limits and their own freedom. As they separate themselves from the world which they objectify . . . as they locate the seat of their decisions in themselves and in their relations with the world and others, men overcome the situations which limit them: the "limit-situations."145

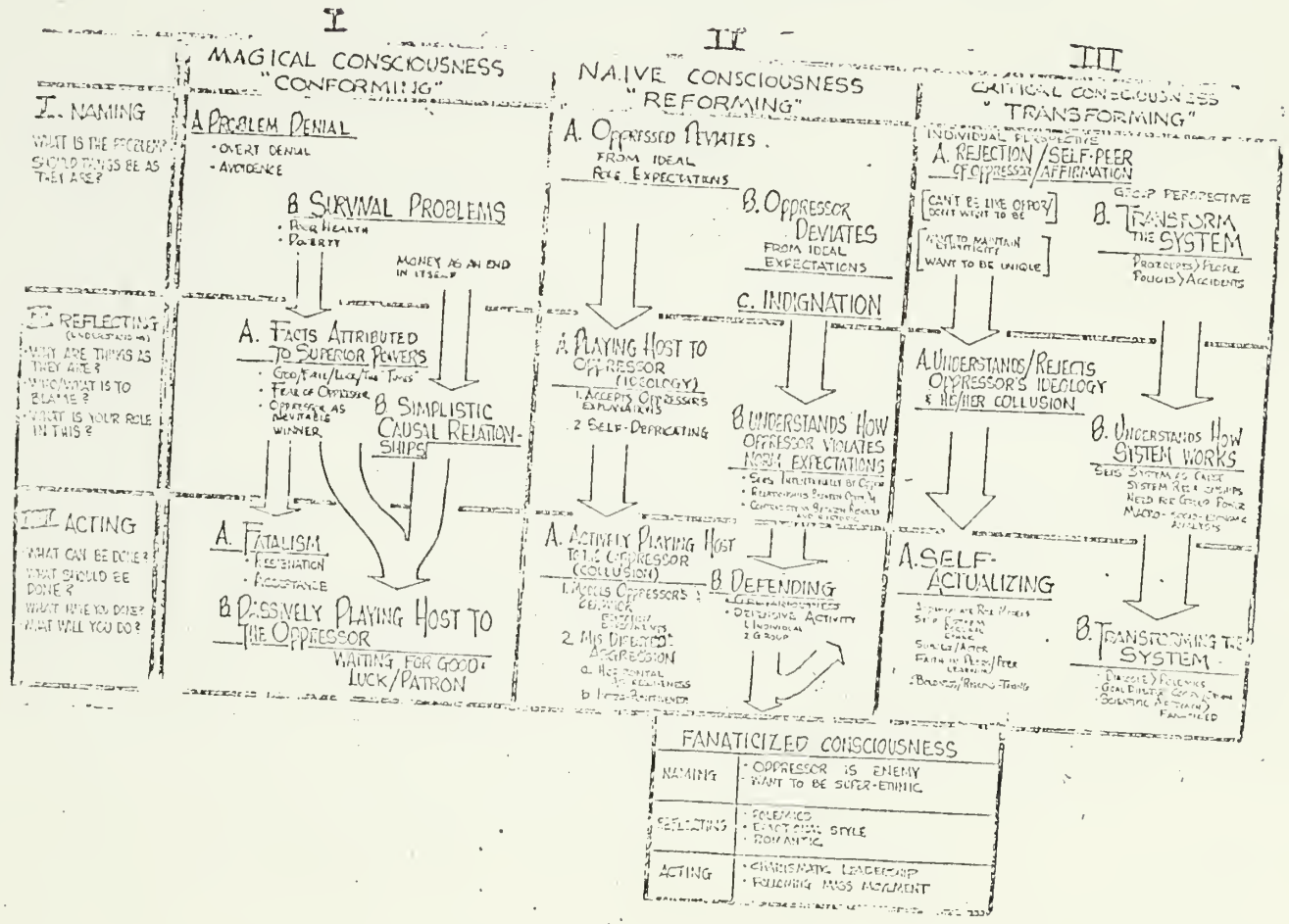
Until persons have seen the world around them--including these "limit-situations"--critically, it is

impossible for them to act freely. In order to help them do so, Freire's three stages of critical awareness --the Magical, the Naive and the Critical--provide developmental tools. Table 1 entitled, "Conscientizacão Coding Categories Diagram," formulated by William Smith[146] constitutes the basis for the description of these developmental stages.

Freire stresses that "At all stages of their liberation, the oppressed must see themselves as men engaged in the ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human." This awareness at each stage eliminates any step-by-step progression whereby one step can be considered better than the former. By reflecting and acting at each stage upon which Freire conditions liberation, the oppressed asserts full humanity. Therefore, a person in the Magical Stage becoming aware of the need to leave stage one to go on to stage two, asserts his or her humanity through critical consciousness no less than a person in stage two or even stage three. For in the third--critical stage--the person transforms his or her own and the world's reality, and that is an ongoing process. As Freire emphasizes, "Critical and liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation."[147]

TABLE 1

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING CATEGORIES DIAGRAM



The deepened consciousness of the oppressed that his or her situation can be transformed is what Freire aims at. The first stage of this consciousness is the Magical or Conforming one. This is the stage in which individuals adapt themselves to or adopt for themselves the values of the dominant society, ostensibly with lack of choice. As Freire explains,

> Fatalism . . . is related to the power of destiny or fate or fortune--inevitable forces--or to a distorted view of God. Under the sway of magic and myth, the oppressed . . . see their suffering the fruit of exploitation as the will of God--if God were the creator of this "organized disorder."[148]

Once the "objects" of oppression are able to emerge out of the stage of fated "organized disorder" by deviating from the ideal "magical" role to which the oppressor is accustomed, they enter the second stage of "Naive Consciousness." Here they resort to self-deprecation and "horizontal oppression" (striking out at family and close ones instead of at the oppressor). When they discover that this behaviour solves nothing, except strengthening the oppressor, they actively "play host to the oppressor" by imitating him or her in dress, habits, language, customs and education. They have a magical belief in the power of the oppressor. As Freire points out, "In truth, the boss was inside them."[149] Due to this internalization, the oppressed feels like "things" owned by the oppressor. They are also

emotionally dependent. This type of dependence enslaves them even more. Freire goes beyond the possibility of enslavement when he states that "it can lead the oppressed to what Fromm calls necrophilic behaviour: the destruction of life--their own or that of their oppressed fellows."[150]

The second stage holds out the most hope for change on the one hand, yet is the most dangerous on the other, due to the possibility of persons perpetuating oppression by identifying with it and inadvertently strengthening it. For as Freire explains,

> The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided . . . between following prescriptions or having choices . . . between being castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world.[151]

Once the conflict is resolved (and this usually happens after the oppressed individual or group discovers that imitation of the oppressor brings only mockery instead of recognition and acceptance) the oppressed rejects the ideology of the oppressor, and critical consciousness emerges. This dialectical awareness engenders a search for identity and personal or group uniqueness which will strengthen the oppressed's self-image. After having rejected the oppressor, together with their own cultural group, they begin to develop a dialogue among themselves in order to solve

common existential problems. Freire, describing this process, explains:

> Bit by bit, these groups begin to see themselves and their society from their own perspective; they become aware of their own potentialities. This is the point at which hopelessness begins to be replaced by hope. Thus, nascent hope coincides with an increasingly critical perception of the concrete conditions of reality. . . . This new critical optimism requires a strong sense of social responsibility and of engagement in the task of transforming society . . .[152]

Freire points out that persons who cannot comprehend problems outside the sphere of biological need are in a state of semi-intransitive consciousness. But as they increase their ability to perceive and react to questions arising in their own reality, and are able more and more to dialogue with their world (and with other persons), they become transitive.

Before persons can become critically transitive, according to Freire they must pass through a naive stage of transitive consciousness. Freire defines this stage as

> the consciousness of men who are still almost a part of a mass, in whom the developing capacity for dialogue is still fragile and capable of distortion.[153]

On the other hand, critically transitive consciousness, Freire points out, can be identified by

> depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's

> "findings" and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old--by accepting what is valid in both old and new.[154]

The following outline, describing the "Conscientizacão Coding Categories," is a more detailed version of William Smith's diagram. In the Outline, Smith's original schema has been changed in accordance with the modifications mentioned above. A new stage of consciousness has been added. It is called "Prime-Heritage Consciousness," and is inserted between the first and second stages. The second stage of consciousness--the Naive one--has been rewritten to allow for the accumulated impact of the Heritage stage to influence Naive consciousness. The words underlined in lower case attempt to explain two phenomena: 1. the motivation for leaving the Magical stage and going on to the Naive stage; and 2. the ambivalence in this second stage; thereby suggesting the way one might well emerge from Naive awareness and continue into Critical Consciousness.

It should be evident that the new stage, Prime-Heritage Consciousness, "radiates" or "wanders" progressively and sometimes even regressively between all

of the stages.

Conscientizacão Coding Categories Outline

Magical Consciousness

I. Naming

- A. Problem Denial
  - 1. Overt denial
  - 2. Problem avoidance
- B. Survival Problems
  - 1. Poor physical state: health
  - 2. Poverty
  - 3. Lack of work
  - 4. Insufficient work
  - 5. Money as end in itself

II. Reflecting

- A. Simplistic Causal Relationships
  - 1. Blames physical state: health
  - 2. Blames objects over people
- B. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers
  - 1. Uncontrollable factors: God/Fate/Luck/ Age/etc.
  - 2. Fear of oppressor
  - 3. Oppressor as inevitable winner
  - 4. Empathy for oppressor

III. Acting

A. Fatalism

1. Resignation

2. Acceptance

B. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor

1. Waiting for "good" luck/patron

2. Dependence on oppressor

Prime-Heritage Consciousness

I. Naming

A. Problem Denial

1. Ambivalent denial

2. Attempt at avoiding problem but (collective) subconscious memories of heritage and extent symbols disturb total evasion of problem.

B. Survival Problems

1. Poor physical and/or psycho-cultural state: health.

2. Material and/or cultural poverty.

3. Lack of employment and/or work offering self-realization and/or ethnic pride.

4. Insufficient work and self and/or ethnic fulfillment.

5. Money as end in itself, negating heritage's values in which money is equated with means, not end.

II. Reflecting

A. Simplistic Causal Relationships

1. Blames physical state: health, but also vaguely recalls heritage's inspirational literature--overcoming physical handicaps.

2. Blames objects over people but remembers heritage's labelling as means, not ends. Draws inspiration from heritage to criticize, struggle with people (the oppressors) and win.

B. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers

1. Contemplating uncontrollable factors such as God, Fate, Luck. Also recalls heritage's institutions claiming to control--or at least influence--unknown forces threatening or endangering human beings.

2. Fear of oppressor--mitigated by indigenous culture's admonition to rebel against oppression. Choice to be free or a slave.

3. Oppressor as inevitable winner--still strong in consciousness but weakened by indigenous culture's inspiration, as above (2).

4. Empathy for oppressor weakened as all of the above vacillations about identity begin to convince oppressed that he or she and "boss"

can be two separate entities--to the enhancement of both; i.e., the oppressor definitely can get along without oppressed or at least without oppressed's servitude.

III. Acting

A. Fatalism

1. Resignation changes to doubt as memory of heritage returns.

2. Acceptance turns into dissatisfaction due to slight longings for "roots" and "identity."

B. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor

1. Waiting for "good" luck/patron but also gradually impatient when recalling heritage's indigenous values.

2. Dependence on oppressor weakens as indigenous values foster independence.

Naive Consciousness

I. Naming

A. Oppressed deviates from ideal expectations due to spiritual and psychological inroads of ideals from own culture, among other factors.

1. Oppressed not like oppressor/oppressed. Does not meet oppressor's expectations due to indigenous cultural manifestations.

2. Horizontal aggressiveness/intra-punitiveness, but regrets actions, at least internally; at least internally; at times expresses regret to victims--due to residue of indigenous cultural allegiance to family and peers.

B. Individual Oppressor Deviates from Ideal Expectations (as in No. 1, above).

1. Individual oppressor violates laws

2. Individual oppressor violates norms

II. Reflecting

A. Blames Oppressed

1. Accepts oppressor's expectations (education as end in itself)--but begins to doubt their validity when compared with expectations of indigenous values.

2. Self-peer deprecations--but doubts arise as to their justification, for same reasons as above.

3. Blames ancestors, as cause of very existence but at same time remembers them with pride, thus weakening force of blame, and awakening possibility of introspection.

B. Understands How Individual Oppressor Violates Norms

1. Sees intentionality by oppressor

2. Sees relationships between oppressor/ oppressor's agents.
3. Generalizes from one individual oppressor to another, all this due, in part, to accumulation of prime-heritage consciousness.

III. Acting

A. Actively Playing Host to Oppressor (Collusion)
1. Models oppressor's behaviour (education, dress, habits) but not with all his heart since still attached, albeit partially, to indigenous dress, education, dialect, values, et al.
2. Misdirected aggression (horizontal aggression/intra-punitiveness) as in I, A.2.
3. Paternalistic towards peers--mistakenly justifies this attitude by pointing to patriarchal authority in own heritage.
4. Meets oppressor's expectations--yet ambivalently.

B. Defending
1. Gregariousness
2. Makes system work--although partially conscious that system represses own values.
3. Avoids oppressor--although ashamed he or she does so.

4. Opposed individual oppressor.

5. Changes environment.

These manifestations of Prime-Heritage Consciousness are interspersed among characteristic attitudes and behaviour of Naive Consciousness in order to demonstrate only the possible influences the former can have on the latter. Since every individual carries within him or her different levels and different aspects of indigenous culture consciousness, each person reacts to similar stimuli differently. Thus, the corrosion of behaviours and attitudes within the three stages of Freire's conscientizacão and its codification by William Smith can occur at any point on the consciousness spectrum, and with different intensities.

When Freire discovered the three stages of consciousness, his point of departure was existential. He named the problem. However, he did not describe the "ideal" reality existing before the oppressor appeared. In his case, it was the Indian culture in Brazil before the arrival of the Portuguese. In other words, what seems to be missing is a stage before the Magical one--a "Prime-Heritage" stage. This would describe the original culture at its zenith and identify the oppressed. It would also explain the process of erosion of the culture, by whom it was eroded, and how the impact of

erosion led to the evolution of Magical Consciousness.

Although Freire empathizes with the oppressed in their dilemma of choice--such as "ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him"--as seen above, Smith makes no mention of ambivalence, inner conflict or any similar problem evinced by the oppressed--not even in the Naive stage. This ambivalence and hesitation to transform oneself in order to transform reality does not in fact appear in any of Smith's categories. He alludes to "reflection" in a one-directional manner, to critically analyze the oppressed situation. But reflection includes more than that. It includes ambivalence and hesitation, inspiration and depression. It should actually appear in all stages, including the above-suggested and described "Prime-Heritage" stage. For it is very human and normal to hesitate and ambivalate before discarding old values on the one hand, and attempting to rebuild one's identity in a new cultural context on the other.

The second table, entitled the "Illusory Stage--Progression to Statehood Model," is also based on Freire's three stages of consciousness, using Smith's Diagram as a framework. Although the table itself adheres only to the three original stages of Freire, examples of ambivalence, inspiration, et al.--based on the "Prime-Heritage" stage--will be presented after

the Model appears. This Model describes Freire's stages of consciousness as expressed by the Jewish People of Europe (and eventually, of the world) from the time of the Enlightenment to the re-establishment of the third Jewish Commonwealth in 1948.

In line with Freire's Naive or Reforming stage, it would seem that the Jews--both in the Occident and in the Orient--played host to the "oppressor," i.e., to the French Enlightenment in particular, and European Colonialism in general. This, as has been seen, was done to obtain civic equality in Europe and in the countries of the Mediterranean Basin. True to Freirian analysis, the Jews imitated European customs, dress, education; emulated Western values and deprecated Jewish values. However, such a description of this historical process is simplistic. Although the failure to reconcile Jewish and Western values brought about assimilation and even conversion to Christianity, there were also genuine attempts to cope with this ostensible incorrigible contradiction. Mendelssohn and Krochmol used scientific criteria in attempts to reinterpret Judaism. Borochov, using his Marxian dialectic, also endeavored to reach the Critical Stage when he declared that so long as a national society is oppressed, the class struggle will be distorted. A. D. Gordon's

remedy for human alienation from nature (studying and using nature with artistic imagination tempered by the discipline of science) was also a serious attempt to synthesize Jewish values with modern Western ones. He partially succeeded in implanting his philosophy in the Israeli Kibbutz movement. However, the stress on science within that framework produced negative ramifications with regard to Jewish tradition, and subsequently also towards Mizraheem.

In developing his concept of "Auto-emancipation," Pinsker virtually went through all of Freire's stages. Pointing to the Emancipation in Europe, in which the Jews constituted a passive <u>object</u> of historical development, Pinsker was describing the Magical stage. Describing the nations of the world as an historical <u>subject</u>, he was providing an example of Freire's extension agent using paternalism vis-a-vis the Jews. Calling on the Jewish People to transform themselves once again into an active factor in history, Pinsker was advocating Critical Consciousness.

Mohliver and Kuk, both religious Zionist leaders, emerged from the Magical stage of waiting for the Messiah's redemption of the Jewish People. They skipped the Naive stage when they maintained that human intervention in Divinely guided history could only hasten

the coming of the Messiah.

But the Jewish experience is not unique in the modern world. The anguish of straddling two cultures pained not only the Jews of Germany or of Morocco but also the Kikuyu people of Kenya. There Mugo Gatheru asks, "Should I become a Christian so as to get an education without having trouble with my classmates? I did not know. I wanted to go to school but I wanted to be a medicine-man, too."[155]

Despite these attempts to develop a "Critical Jewish Consciousness," although the Jewish People emancipated themselves politically through Zionism, culturally they almost never left the Naive Stage as the following table (Table 2, "Illusory Stage-Progression to Statehood-Model") demonstrates.

Despite attaining national Critical Consciousness, Zionism (and later, the Israeli educational and cultural establishment) remained in the Naive Stage as Table 2 shows. Actually, it could be said that there was a regression to the Magical Stage. They passively accepted, and still do accept a fatalistic "lack of choice" with regard to Western culture and values while actively "hosting the oppressor" in the Naive Stage. As Smith explains:

> Once individuals have . . . discovered a dependence on . . . the oppressor, their logical course of

TABLE 2

ILLUSORY STAGE-PROGRESSION TO STATEHOOD - MODEL (PRE-ZIONIST ERA)

	Magical Consciousness -conforming-	Naive Consciousness -reforming-
I. Naming Q. What is problem? A. 2,000 years oppression.	A. Problem of Denial avoiding problem by waiting for Messiah to redeem Jewish People. B. Survival - thru Ghetto cohesiveness and community.	(NOTE: here, Freire's historical sequence inverted) B. Oppressor deviates from ideal Role Expectation European emancipation to Jews as individuals. A. Oppressed deviates. Jews accept equality by leaving Ghetto.
II. Reflecting Q. Why are things as they are? A. "Due to our sins, we've been exiled from our land." We can only pray, observe God's commandments.	A. Facts attributed to Superior Powers: God is still punishing us (the Jewish People) for sins of 2,000 years ago.	A. Hosting Oppressor (ideal) 1. Jews accept oppressor's explanation of equality - assimilation. 2. Self-deprecating: They reform Judaism, modify it or totally reject it.

TABLE 2--Continued

	Magical Consciousness -conforming-	Naive Consciousness -reforming-
II. Reflecting (cont.)		B. INDIGNATION: Contradiction between results and rhetoric: "all people equal but Jews less"
III. Acting		
Q. What can be done?	A. Fatalism Nothing (resignation)	A. Hosting Oppressor Actively (collusion
Q. What should be done?	Nothing - must not bring False Messiah before God wills True Messiah.	1. Jews initiate oppressor's behaviour through secular education, European dress and manners.
	B. Passively Hosting Oppressor Jews continue to suffer at hands of anti-Semites.	2. Misdirected aggression self-hate through rejection of Judaism.

TABLE 2--Continued

Critical Consciousness
-Transforming-

A. Rejection of Oppressor/ Self-Peer Affirmation

1. Can't and doesn't want to be like oppressor: Jews discovered they can't be like oppressor because he/she rejected them. Yet they still wanted to be like him/her.

despite

2. Desire to maintain ethnicity: for lack of choice, Jews chose secular nationhood.

B. Transform System from scattered Diaspora to unified national entity.

A. Understands/Rejects Oppressor's Ideology
(and his own collusion)

Jews continue to fight oppressor for equality and power but also began leaving Europe for Palestine while others assimilate to gain power.

B. Understands how system works (need for group power)

Jews organize into, and identify with political Zionism, and begin to settle in Palestine.

TABLE 2--Continued

Critical Consciousness -Transforming-	
A. Self-actualizing Role model: idealistic pioneer in Palestine; Subject: taking fate in own hands; Bold risk-taking: unknown future in inimical land.	B. Transform system 1. Internalization: a. Dialoguing, as equals, with "family of nations" through nationhood in sovereign state. b. Aspiring for a co-operative commonwealth, hoping that domestic justice will radiate abroad and indirectly transform and correct it.

> action is to resign themselves to the situation, conform to things as they are, and wait for things to change . . .156

This "wandering" and "co-existence" from, to and in two stages at once should clearly demonstrate what was said above--that Smith's coding categories do not advance from inferior to superior stages of consciousness. There is a psychological element of betterment or progress as one passes from one stage to another, but not an element of superiority.

Still functioning in the Naive Stage, the Israeli establishment ("the oppressed") tended to become the "oppressors." As Freire points out:

> But almost always, during the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors." . . . Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity.157

In 1948, the then European Jewish majority in Israel, with naive good intensions, attempted to "absorb" the In-gathered Exiles (most of whom were Orientals) into a Western, achievement oriented society. The manner in which the Mizraheem were absorbed created the socio-cultural gap in Israel.

Paternalistic Educative Schemes Do Not Narrow Gap

Despite genuine efforts to absorb the new immigrants, the major instruments used for integration all

failed. These were: 1. the Hebrew language, which although heightening national consciousness very successfully, did not break down cultural and ethnic barriers; 2. Youth Aliya--which provided physical and psychological shelter for orphan survivors of the Holocaust and later for Mizrahee children coming from overcrowded homes in Israel (but due to the Western-oriented curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education achieved poorly in school); 3. the Kibbutz (discussed in the next paragraph); 4. the Junior High "Reforma"[158] vocational training (which paradoxically succeeded in preparing Mizrahee students for technical trades, but in so doing segregated them by sorting out the Ashkenazeem for theoretical and abstract subjects;[159] 5. the Israel Defense Forces (which although creating solidarity in peace as well as in war, does not--and perhaps, cannot--prepare the Mizrahee soldier for disappointments in civilian life due to the gap that had already existed between him and his Ashkenazee brother upon his enlistment); 6. the one-year "preparatory program" for University entrance (which although relatively successful in facilitating the acceptance of its students into higher institutions of learning--90 percent in 1972--only 14.1 percent of Mizrahee high school graduates reach university).[160]

Kibbutz degeneration of Ghetto culture and Mizraheem. The kibbutz is a good example of this failure, especially since, paradoxically, it advocates and practices egalitarianism. Since its curriculum emanates by and large from the Ministry of Education, the equality produced by the environment actually reinforces, both subtly and overtly, the Western values taught in that curriculum. Ethnic differences are repressed because Oriental youth are encouraged to emulate the "equalized," stereotyped image of the kibbutznik of Israel who is educated in and acculturated to Western values.[161]

These values are reflected in the general attitudes of the Kibbutz era. Spiro, stressing that "a characteristic beature of Sabra behaviour . . . is a high degree of cultural conformity," describes these attitudes, offering motivational explanations:

> . . . the sabra both hate and fear the Oriental immigration . . . perhaps, because that ghetto culture, of which they are so ashamed and which they believed to have been destroyed, is in danger of being revived by them. Moreover, the sabras fear that the presence of these Oriental Jews in Israel may result in their (the sabras) being identified by others with them.[162]

If this is true for the egalitarian kibbutz, how much more so outside the context of communal living. In the relatively competitive town or city, where a Mizrahee youth has succeeded in "making it" in the Ashkenazee society, it has been at the expense of

indigenous values. Sometimes, in fact very often, his or her ostensible success is only a sham, an illusion. When that sham explodes, and the youth discovers that the education he or she has worked so hard for has not brought the hoped-for social equality or status, he or she becomes embittered and condemns the Ashkenazic establishment as prejudiced.

The denial of indigenous values is referred to by Freire as "violence" or the "banking" concept of education.

> In the banking concept of education knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. . . . Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of in inquiry is one of violence . . .[163]

Founders' compassionate" paternalism. Reflecting the outlook of the Western elitist founders of the State, Rivkah bar Yosef describes the nature of the Moroccan immigrants:

> Most of the fundamental values which are basic to the existence of an established society are not overly apparent, and most of the Moroccan immigrants are inadequately equiped to be able to attain these fundamentals. History has molded their character and their condition, and they cannot be blamed for the superficiality of their concept of democracy, nor the detachment and remoteness from the basic values of the movement for the national revival. They cannot help themselves, and it is up to the established settlement to find the means to equip them with the tools for coming to grips with the new reality by fully accepting the values. (Stress added.)[164]

A less sophisticated version of Bar-Yosef's attitude appears in the Israel Teachers Union, an organization whose roots can be found in the early Labour Party.

In a report on a visit to Israel by the American National Education Association delegation in April, 1975, the following information from the Union was quoted:

> The main educational problems of Israel are, according to Mr. Pelled, the Director-General of the Ministry of Education: "The cause of the disadvantaged children. With so many different groups of immigrants, . . . with poor economic conditions, lesser education of parents, and the children not being fluent in Hebrew, these children do less well in school. . . . The progress of these students is low, because they are academic under-achievers, they have low motivation, and a low sense of abstraction (stress added). Fifty percent of the school population falls in this category, since the recent immigrations have been Asian and African Jews (Morocco, India, etc.). Israel needs the Jews from Europe and the United States.[165]

Whereas Carl Rosen (see Chapter II) describes, analyzes and interprets the facts about education for poverty children, Rivkah bar-Yosef and the Israeli Teachers Union take these facts to be axiomatically true. The Israelis educate the newcomers from Asia and Africa in the very same way that the humanists of the Renaissance and the rationalists of the Enlightenment educated--motivated by a sense of mission. This concern for learning dates back to ancient times, but

with the renewal of Jewish settlement in Palestine a century ago, this sense of mission expressed itself in Western terms. These early Western influences had a crucial impact on the evolution of the Israeli educative process.

The Early Western Influences on Jewish Education in Palestine

Prior to 1914, three central European influences prevailed in Palestine: the French "Alliance Israelite Universelle," the "Anglo-Jewish Association" and the German "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden."

The French interest first manifested itself in 1870 when the "Alliance" opened the first agricultural school in the country, Mikveh Yisrael. Later it opened a school for boys in Jaffa, apprentice shops, kindergartens and schools in other towns. French was the language of instruction.

In 1898, the Anglo-Jewish Association took over the Evelina de Rothschild Girls' School in Jerusalem, and introduced English as the official language.

The German-Jewish organization, Hilfsverein, was founded in 1901 with the aim of "promoting the moral, cultural and economic development of our co-religionists, especially in Eastern Europe and Asia." By 1913, it was running twenty-seven schools, ranging from a kindergarten

to a teachers' training college, in addition to a library and an eye clinic in Jerusalem. German was the language of instruction.

In 1932, when the National Council assumed control of the National School System (within the Jewish "shadow" government inside the British Mandate), it already included three Education trends: General, Religious, and Labour. By 1948, 53 percent of students attended General schools, 24 percent the Mizrahi or Religious schools and 23 percent the Labour schools.

The schools within the General trend were most influenced by European tradition, principally Germanic and Central European. The Religious institutions were European in structure but Orthodox in content. The Labour trend, supported by kibbutzeem and the Jewish Federation of Labour, was the most original of the three. Though socialist in outlook and ultra-modern in aspirations, this school system was receptive to experiments in the spirit of the American progressivist movement and Dewey's pragmatism. This trend was abolished in 1953, yet its influence is still felt in the cities and towns in its vocational schools, and especially on the kibbutzeem. Prior to and after the early years of the State, the Labour schools formed the cultural vanguard of the Yishuv, even attempting to reinterpret Jewish values

within a modern, socialist context. Today, like most educational institutions, they turn out cultural technocrats.

The centralization of the Ministry of Education has created a predominantly hierarchical structure, which in turn has led to heavy supervision and organization, and to the exclusion of teacher or principal autonomy. In the elementary schools (which are free and compulsory), a weekly Ministry bulletin arrives with an updated list of rules and by-laws which must be strictly followed--by the teacher, the Principal and even the Inspector.[166]

For Israel's high school students, matriculation exams are particularly oppressive. They are compulsory in all secondary schools for admission to universities except in the kibbutzeem where they are optional.

Noah Nardi (1945) traces the prescriptive approach back to pre-1914 education in Palestine:

> The General school with its crowded curriculum of secular and Hebrew subject matter, may perhaps succeed in giving the child a fairly adequate liberal education and an understanding of Jewish culture. It cannot be said to prepare him for a life of labour, nor is the spirit of individual competition usually found in its classrooms likely to produce a cooperative and social attitude. Indeed, the General schools are, as it were, practically the crystallization of the pre-1914 national schools whose main concern and accomplishment were the combination of secular and Hebraic subjects and the use of Hebrew as the language of instruction.[167]

These trends, which began at the turn of the century in Palestine, have remained essentially unchanged in the Israel of 1975. The following facts are quoted from the 1976 Israel Yearbook:

> Education is the third largest effort in the national budget, next to defense and housing: in 1973/74, IL.1,740 million were allocated to it, over and above the cost of higher education. About 919,000 pupils and students attended educational institutions in 1973, as compared with some 141,000 in 1948/49.
>
> Educational T.V. is now used in over a thousand schools. New study programs are being worked out to keep up with scientific and technological progress, and textbooks are being revised correspondingly.
>
> The results of the cultural gap are evident in the composition of pupils in school. The number of pupils whose families come from Asia and Africa (mainly Arab countries) declines from 61.2 percent in the seventh grade through 46.1 percent in the twelfth grade to 14.1 percent in the universities.
>
> A chief target of the educational system in Israel is to eliminate the cultural gap. Special programmes . . . designed to raise the educational level of boys and girls of Asian and African background include: . . . enrichment syllabuses in arts, the theatre and music for children whose natural environment does not stress such values (73,000 students benefitted from these syllabuses in 1972/73). . . a longer school year and a longer school day . . . special annual grants to buy textbooks for underprivileged children.[168]
>
> One of the most important factors in Israel's progress is the extent to which it can train scholars, professional men, scientists and technicians of high calibre.
>
> In 1972, the percentage of academically educated persons comprised 14 percent of the work force of Israel--this is the world's highest, followed by 13.2 percent in the U.S.A. and Canada. . . The Israel Government allocates an unusually high percentage of its GNP--2.6 percent--to research and development . . . . Until a decade ago, research and development was almost solely

> concerned with agricultural development and the production of consumer goods, the Government supports a wide range of applied research facilities . . . making research funds available to science based industries. Also there are today more capital resources for industry and larger markets for sophisticated technological products. (Stress added.)[169]

Consequences of rationalist, Western cultural influence. Since the stress is on science and technology, it is not surprising to find that oppressive measures are exerted at various levels of the educational process. If, for example, the "Other Israel," that half of the population coming from African and Asian countries, cannot make the grade, they are immediately labelled as inferior.

Since science and technology tend to renounce any ethical value, any will to adapt experience or self-fulfillment to norms compatible with human existence, they exceed the limits of the permissible. Under such circumstances, human beings become objects to be used to serve science instead of the converse. The matriculation exams are passports to universities, but what is the nature of these universities?

Professor Jacob Katz describes the Hebrew University in Jerusalem as "built on Western culture . . . (which) has its defects."[170] Katz quotes Professor Rotenstreich's essay, "The Educational Nature of the Humanities," in which he writes that the humanities (at

the Hebrew University) do not constitute humanism but the "actual face of the scientific study as a scientific study." Professor Katz claims ". . . that Jewish content and processes of thought are diametrically opposed to those prevailing in Israeli universities."[171]

If Jewish thought is opposed to that of the scientific milieu of Israeli universities, then it is no wonder that the Kibbutz sabra and even more, his or her teacher, believe that science is superior to Jewish values. It then follows that they will believe that those who are acculturated according to those superior values are superior to those who are not so educated. According to this line of thinking, the latter are culturally deprived.

The real question remains, however: Who is deprived of what? The answer is that the "culturally deprived" were deprived of the continued development of their indigenous cultures as well as of their own peculiar interpretation of Judaism, both of which could have enriched the formative Israeli culture. The Oriental youth abandoned the Jewish tradition of their parents to ingratiate themselves with Ashkenazic friends through the imitation of their secularism. Furthermore, the emulation of the Western family model, which rejected the patriarchal hierarchy, caused young Oriental Jews to

reject their Jewish tradition. Protest movements, such as the Black Panthers, emerged out of the growing awareness of the Mizraheem that they had been deprived of equal opportunity even after having received a sometimes more-than-equal education.

The Israeli cross-cultural experience. To test the degree of overt cross-cultural communication in Israel, definition of a "multicultural curriculum" will be presented--and then compared with the Compulsory Education Law of the State of Israel (1949). The attitudes will then be reviewed within the context of Israeli reality.

> A multicultural curriculum is defined as one in which the concept of cultural pluralism is positively promoted through the integration into the total curriculum of the cultural heritages, experiences and perspectives of the various ethnic groups . . .172

Although the Israeli Education Law was passed only a year after the establishment of the State, Israeli leaders were well aware of mass immigration. The majority of these oleem (immigrants) were then of Oriental origin, yet there is not the slightest allusion to this developing cross-cultural reality in the law. It states that

> The aim of Public Education is to base the Elementary schooling in the State on the values of Israel's culture and on the achievements of science, on the love of the homeland and on the loyalty to the State of Israel and the People of Israel, on practical agriculture and labour, on pioneering training, and on the aspiration towards

> a society built on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual aid and the love of all men.[173]

It is interesting to note that the Law does not even imply, let alone define, what the "values of Israel's culture" are, unless the proximity of the phrase "the achievements of science" to the word "values," implicitly equates these achievements with values. Even the Education Law of 1953, making elementary schooling compulsory and free, and abolishing the socialist trend in education (leaving the religious and general trends intact) did not allude to any cross-cultural reality. On the contrary, the legislators firmly believed that this law and subsequent by-laws gradually extending free, compulsory education on the high school level, were the most effective instruments for the "raising of learning and educational standards, and the catalyzation of the integration processes of the various ethnic communities."[174]

It is not surprising, therefore, that multicultural curricula were never considered. The aim of integrating the Exiles meant adopting the Melting Pot approach, i.e., Ashkenazic conformity. This approach is reflected in Sachar's description of Israel's difficulties as not only military or economic. In 1958, he stressed that

> The influx of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Arab lands presented the Jewish States with a serious cultural and social dilemma. Most of the Orientals were desperately poor; many of them were illiterate and diseased. . . . Thousands of

Moroccan-Jewish immigrants were totally ill-equipped, psychologically and temperamentally, for the pioneering experiment that was being undertaken in Israel. Like the Moroccans among whom they had lived, they frequently were given to the kind of passive, contemplative pietism which did not encourage normal physical or secular activity. (Stress added.) Indeed, the Oriental Jews viewed Zion in religio-romantic terms, and were willing to entrust the fate of the Holy Land to God's infinite mercy. It was an attractive viewpoint in some respects, but hardly consonant with the Zionist ideal of halutziot: physical labour, return to the soil, military defense. . . . Having worked diligently for years to create a model society in Israel, the European Israelis saw their social experiment in danger of foundering. . . . In spite of a sudden influx of iron-curtain refugees in 1957-58, it was estimated that by 1975 the country would become at least two-thirds Oriental. It was a serious question whether the Oriental Jews could be successfully acculturated along Western lines before they completely outnumbered the Europeans.

The older settlers made a vigorous attempt to modernize or Westernize the Orientals by teaching them the Hebrew language and the basic principles of Western hygiene. Many thousands of the new arrivals were sent, as well, to vocational and agricultural training schools. These educational efforts were not always effective. Second-generation Oriental immigrants found adjustment difficult; home environment counteracted change elsewhere; the schools were a most powerful assimilatory force, but school facilities were often inadequate. Some progress was made, however, by locating the newcomers in agricultural settlements alongside the European Jews, exposing them to the pioneering tradition which brought Israel into being. Many of these settlements conducted classes in citizenship which the immigrants attended between work hours. The army, too, worked its integration magic; every Israeli, native and immigrant alike, gave two years of service and these years had remarkable transforming power. Moreover, in the race between Westernization and Orientalization the Europeans possessed other advantages which offset mere numbers. They controlled not only the schools and the army but most of the instruments of public life: the Knesset, the newspapers, the movies.

> Accordingly, it was the European cultural influence which made itself felt in all public areas. Above all, the second generation of Orientals aspired to Westernization; they cooperated wholeheartedly in all educational efforts . . .[175]

It is not surprising to read what Sachar wrote back in 1958 as the standard-bearer of Western ethnocentricity, but it is very disappointing to discern no basic change in attitude by the Israeli establishment in 1978. Of course, each newly elected government pays lip-service to the sociocultural gap but at best, the various ministries involved (in addition to the Ministry of Education) search for and sometimes find, ways and means to bring about "integration." In reality, this means the economic, social and cultural co-option of the Mizraheem into an Ashkenazee-dominated society. Due to three decades of Ashkenazee indoctrination, this is actually what the Mizraheem want. As Peres points out, "Advocates of pluralism assume, as self-evident, that . . . minorities are interested in retaining their unique cultures," but

> Research has shown that the vast majority of second-generation children are not interested in reatining inter-ethnic differences. Even if these declared attitudes are results of persistent indoctrination by the establishment, nevertheless they have indirectly become a psychosocial fact in itself.[176]

Amir and Sharan come to similar conclusions. Researching ethnic perceptions and preferences of Israeli youth, they discovered that "both Western and Middle

Eastern groups evaluated the Western group more positively than . . . the Middle Eastern group." Again, they stress,

> All three types of sociometric questions--choice of friends, "stars," and isolates--consistently indicated that Western subjects preferred themselves and that Middle Eastern subjects preferred persons of Western background. . . . These results also support the conclusion that . . . both ethnic groups preferred Westerners to Middle Easterners.[177]

Reporting on the results of "Sociometric Probability Scores for Middle Eastern and Western Subjects from Two Levels of Academic Achievement," Amir and Sharan state that

> Results from these questions revealed a significant difference between subjects who displayed different levels of academic achievement: High-ability subjects perceived the two ethnic groups as being more similar than did subject of low academic ability. . . . Low Western achievers assessed their own group more positively than did their high-achieving peers, while low achieving Middle Easterners assessed their own group less positively than did their high-achieving peers.
>
> Three 2X2 analyses of variance (2 ethnic groups X 2 levels of academic achievement) revealed that all three indices yielded a consistent trend: The Western group was significantly preferred over the Middle Eastern group . . . there was no main effect for academic achievement level, and there was a significant interaction effect. . . . All of these interactions indicate that the high-achieving Western subjects preferred members of their own ethnic group more than did low-achieving Westerners, while high-achieving Middle Eastern subjects preferred members of their own ethnic group less than did low-achieving subjects of Middle Eastern background.[178]

In their conclusions, the Israeli team of

researchers stipulate that

> Middle Eastern students appeared to demonstrate a striving for greater integration with members of the Western group, a conclusion reached by other investigators in Israel as well. . . . One might argue that . . . Middle Eastern Jews in Israel are still in the naive stage, to use Freire's developmental scheme. Or, the striving for integration in Israel may derive from the historical and social factors promoting national unity which still operate in Israel society.179

Confused ethnic subjectivity; prejudiced Ashkenazic "objectivity." Apparently, a great deal of truth lies in both positions--remaining in the Naive Stage and aspiring for national unity. However, this "truth" expresses itself strangely in real life where ethnic pride, national unity and strong admiration for Western culture unite into a confused conception of Mizrahee consciousness-raising. This was clearly demonstrated at The World Conference of Sepharadee Youth which took place in Jerusalem in January, 1981. Lilian Winn, addressing the group, correlates Zionism with Oriental identity, and both with Westernization:

> Two cultures . . . not based on group distinctions, but rather different origins, different histories, and different paths to Zion. . . . For too long we have allowed false assumptions about the role of our people to cast a shadow on our own self-esteem and worth as Jews:--That Sepharadim were unsuited for Western culture; --That those of us from North Africa and Asia contributed little to early Zionism and--That our people do not have the same motivation for achievement as those of East European origin. Nothing could be further from the truth:--

> Sepharadim encountered Western culture just as early, if not earlier, than our Ashkenazi brothers. Immigrants from Morocco and Iraq coming to Israel in 1950 were probably more westernized than early immigrants who emerged from the sheltered confines of East European ghettos. . . . And while many revel in talking about poor, impoverished Sepharadim rescued from the Atlas Mountains and the distant areas of Yemen, the role of the college graduates from Egypt, the ex-judges from Tunis and the merchant families from Syria is forgotten . . . (Stress added.)[180]

This ethnic outburst perhaps substantiates the fact that William Smith's coding categories are not progressive. For the existence of the sub-transitory stage of Freire's Naive Consciousness--Fanaticized awareness (and almost verbal horizontal aggression) on the one hand, and the deep attachment to the Naive Stage--hosting the oppressor, on the other, would seem to demonstrate that the two are co-existent. Moreover, the Critical Stage is also represented here by a sharp ethnic consciousness. Thus virtually all of Freire's stages are reflected (albeit "wandering" from one to another) in this one-directional journey to the West. If super-ethnic Separadeem think in this way, it is not surprising that Arthur Hertzberg who wrote The Zionist Idea in 1968 and Shlomo Avineri who wrote Varieties of Zionist Thought in 1980--both Ashkenazeem --fail to mention even one Zionist thinker of Oriental origin in their books.[181]

If, for a moment, Lilian Winn's approach to Oriental-Jewish ethnicity is accepted (which is also the Israeli establishments view), then the problem of "the ability to abstract" must be dealt with and defended on her terms.

Pelled's statement that Oriental students have "a low sense of abstraction" is a myth contradicted by factual reality in university students who are of Oriental origin. If this percentage is accepted into the universities, then surely once properly prepared and trained, 100 percent would be potential material for higher education. Motivation to reach this scholastic level is definitely a problem; the lack or low sense of abstraction is not.[182]

Such motivation can be stimulated to a great extent by Jewish values that have been common to both the Sepharadic and Ashkenazic traditions, for there is a correlation between Jewish values (or at least Jewish-oriented learning) and motivation. Bar-Ilan University is a living example. This religious-oriented institution has the highest proportion of students of Oriental origin: about 26 percent, compared with 16.5 percent for the country's universities as a whole.[183]

These facts not only refute the myth of "a low sense of abstraction" among Mizraheem but indicate that

when traditional Jewish values constitute a major part of educational goals in a modern Israeli setting, they can become the cross-cultural cement joining the two communities.

However, the Bar-Ilan school is the exception to the rule which proves the rule. The Israeli Ministry of Education's framework, its prescription of curriculum and requirements for matriculation, and the use of Western-based "abstraction" as an absolute criterion for intelligence--is the rule. "Prescription," according to Freire, "is one of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed." Therefore, prescribing Western values for Oriental immigrants would be a form of oppression since

> . . . every prescription represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber consciousness.[184]

This is the relationship between Lilian Winn and the people whom she represents on one hand, and the Ministry of Education, representing the Israeli establishment, on the other. It certainly is not Dialogue or a dialogical relationship. However, if the Mizraheem and those who speak on their behalf genuinely want ethnicity, they must demand that the Ashkenazee establishment enter into dialogue with them. The Mizraheem and the Ashkenazee must learn from one another,

and must not demand mutual conformity based on acceptance of the dominant culture. To prevent this "conformity," Martin Buber points out that

> To influence the other does not mean . . . to change the other, to inject one's "rightness" into him. . . . Modern man, insofar as he has surrendered direct and personal mutuality with his fellows, can only exchange an illusory confirmation for the one that is lost.[185]

Attempting to explain this loss of "mutuality" in historical terms, Buber points to the accumulation of scientific understanding and humanly augmented technical and manipulative control as the increasing ability to say the primary word I-It. If a person lets It have mastery, then that person, the I in that primary word, would be impoverished. It would be possible, Buber stresses, for a person to be so fully equipped with information, that he or she would become disinclined to conduct live dealings with other persons.

As has been seen above, Freire's three stages (with modifications) and Buber's humanistic approach effectively describe both the erosion of Judaism by Western reationalistic values and the subsequent Zionist transformation. Freire has given us the tools for analysis. Buber has added a Jewish dimension. These two approaches will constitute the major thrust of the philosophical alternatives to Western Rationalism to be proposed in the following chapter.

C H A P T E R I V

PHILOSOPHICAL ALTERNATIVES TO WESTERN RATIONALISM

This chapter will explore philosophical alternatives for dealing with the problem of modern man's and woman's search for meaning in the absence of shared moral meanings in contemporary industrial societies.

Buber's, Smith's and Kaplan's interpretations of Judaism, Freire's "conscientizacao," Cassirer's "holistic" philosophy, Chomsky's correlation of language with freedom, as well as the ideas of other thinkers, all offer humanistic solutions in this quest for alternatives to modern man's and woman's alienation. They all stress people's unique ability to transform their reality through consciousness-raising and reflection--both as individuals and within a group.

This can be best done, they contend, through the process of dialogue. The important elements of this process are commitment, responsibility and cooperation. However, in order to dialogue with other persons, one must also conduct reciprocating dialogue with Spirit and World.

This trialogue of person, spirit and world is not derived from a philosophical base that is exclusively religious, nor does it originate in Western secular

humanism. Although it contains elements of both, Ruah'adama'muda--the trialogue's basic philosophical construct--is an attempt at synthesizing humanism and religion without detracting from either and while remaining independent of both. The concept is essentially drawn from Jewish sources but as shall be shown in this chapter such philosophies as Freire's "conscientizacao," Ghandi's "Satyagraha," Buber's "Biblical Humanism," Fromm's "autonomous" humanism and Bergson's "elan vital" all overlap. They fuse with each other just as Judaism overlaps with each of them.

Perhaps Ruah'adama'muda could be defined as a "spiritual-human" philosophy. On the one hand, it draws inspiration from the realm of the Spirit and dialogues with it but never becomes dependent on it theologically, intellectually, emotionally or materially. It cannot countenance any form of idolatry, ancient or modern, nor can it conceive of an anthropomorphic God personally intervening in the affairs of humanity.

On the other hand, this philosophy cannot tolerate homocentricity--a mentality conducive to setting up "man" as the exclusive yardstick and criterion of "himself" and "his" actions. This "humanism," in its extreme forms, has become modern idolatry in the form of "personality cults," et cetera.

The "spiritual-human" philosophy of Ruah-adama'muda reflects the never-ending dialogue, emanating from inner struggle and outer conflict, between man and spirit. The struggle turns into vitriolic dialogue very much the way Jacob struggled with the angel in the Biblical narrative: "And Jacob remained alone (with himself), and a man wrestled with him until dawn. And he saw that he could not overcome him (Jacob) . . ." As a result of this struggle, the "angel of God" notifies Jacob of his new name, Israel, because "You have fought with God and with men and you have won." Jacob then names the place Peniel because "I have seen God face to face." (Genesis 32:24-el)

This narrative is an allegory of man's perennial dialogical struggle with the Spirit of God. But Jacob "wins" this symbolic name because he also dialogues with human beings--out of strength, autonomy and self-actualization. What the Bible omitted was the third part of the trialogue--the interaction with the world. Possibly the world or natural forces were implied in the cosmic "angel" or even in "men." But for modern man and woman, this dialogical, Jasperian struggle takes on trialogical significance, explained within the exposition on Ruah'adama'muda. The added element of "consciousness" facilitates the entire process.

In the field of education--formal and non-formal--

this philosophy can be applied by emulating the process through interaction between all the elements. Whether child or adult, a person can and should be exposed to consciousness--raising methodologies with regard to dialoging with nature, ecology, and with Spirit (internally, the development of personal autonomy and power; externally, spiritually interacting with other persons and the world for intrinsic purposes, as opposed to utilitarian purposes, thus producing culture. The frameworks conducive and appropriate to this type of interaction will be described in Chapter V.

Such educational frameworks will constitute viable alternatives to traditionally religious, theologically based school systems on the one hand, and secular, achievement oriented, "humanistic" school systems on the other. Such alternative frameworks will be hopefully set up as a result of the Institute for Dialogical Education.

These schools will resemble an "open school" setting. Problem-posing with open-ended solutions will be tempered by commitment and responsibility in the spirit of the Regenerative Return strategy described in Chapter V. On the one hand, this educational network will be open to unlimited experimentation within a value laden structure that can always be amended by student-parent-teacher-community consensus. On the other hand,

due to the on-going process of critical consciousness, the accumulated amendments and decisions by the policy-making body will develop in time, a crystallized value image that will make it unique in education.

The very process of perpetual critical consciousness will hopefully constitute safeguards against institutional and policy stultification, as well as bureaucratic fatalism.

Such an educational institution can provide the testing-ground for the dialogical struggle between reflecting Ashkenazeem and Mizraheem; other minority groups and the establishment; secular and religious, and others in order to resolve problems of various gaps within Israeli society.

Thus, Ruah'adama'muda, and its application in the field of education, is a new dimension within the context of dialogical consciousness, and will attempt to demonstrate how modern men and women, especially of the future, can successfully cope with the problems that science and technology have posed without becoming oppressed by them or by other people. Thus, they will be able to build a society with value-laden meaning, transforming the scientific and technological tools at their disposal into the hand-maidens of cooperation instead of into competitive oppression. In such a

society, persons--in dialogical relation to other persons and to reality--could enhance their autonomy. In this way, hopefully, they would almost never become enslaved by their own oppressive inclinations nor by those of others. To implement this, perennial critical consciousness would constitute the educational guardian of society. However, all those involved in the educational process--especially teachers and students--would be more highly motivated to take on the task of critically guarding society only if they clearly understood the significance of "meaning" in human existence.

Human Search for Meaning

In order to break out of any state of oppression, a person must first be critically conscious of its existence. In a society where oppression is more insidious than blatant, where forms of oppression are manifested principally in paternalism, bureaucracy and consumerism, it is perhaps more difficult to recognize one's condition as oppressed. In order to recognize such a condition, one must attain critical consciousness.

Yet it is fundamental to the attainment of critical consciousness that life itself have meaning, that the need for meaning--meaning in the human person, in creation, in history, in justice and injustice, in

pleasure and suffering--be recognized. More and more educators have pointed to the problem of "meaning" in modern life. Musgrave notes, for example, that

> Today, most members of industrial societies no longer belong to closely bounded units where all kith are kin, but live in large urban areas where they are often almost anonymous to most inhabitants and where, because of this anonymity, social control over normal behaviour is weak . . . because group and grid have weakened, it has become important to ensure that some "shared abstract moral meanings" are learnt by members of any society if it is to survive as such.[1]

Martin Buber presents the problem of "shared . . . moral meanings" in another light--essentially a Jewish one. He sees Marx as well as Freud penetrating post-Enlightenment thinking and justly critiquing its relative fictitious absolutes. However, this critical analysis destroyed the human person's unity when converted into a monistic system.[2]

To reinstate the human person's unity, Buber provides an alternative--Biblical Humanism.

> The humanitas . . . is the unity of human life under one divine direction which divides right from wrong and truth from lies. . . . It is true that . . . in order to preserve . . . community . . . we are often compelled to accept wrongs . . . concerning the community. But . . . we do not interpret . . . a will to power as a demand made by life itself; that we do not make a practice of setting aside a certain sphere in which God's command does not hold. . . . The men in the Bible . . . have . . . the insolence to draw boundaries around God's commandments and say to Him: "Up to this point, You are sovereign, but

> beyond these bounds begins the sovereignty of science or society or the state.[3]

Buber explains that the unity of human life under one divine direction will occur through man's becoming "humanly" holy: "Man cannot approach the divine by going beyond the human. But he can approach it by becoming the man that he, this individual man, was created to become."[4]

Frankl, too, was confronted with the question of life's meaning--the question of why he should become "the man he was created to become." He had lost both his physical and spiritual child in the German death camps. He had nothing to survive him. Then, something happened. When he surrendered his clothes at Auschwitz (with his manuscript in one of the pockets), he inherited the rags of one of the inmates who had been sent to the gas chamber. Instead of many pages of his manuscript, he found a single page of a Hebrew prayer book which contained the main Jewish prayer, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." "How should I have interpreted such a 'coincidence' other than as a challenge to live my thoughts instead of merely putting them on paper?" Frankl continues:

> The question which beset me was, "Has all this suffering, this dying around us, a meaning? For, if not, then ultimately there is no meaning to survival; for a life whose meaning depends upon such a happenstance--whether one escapes or not --ultimately would not be worth living at all.[5]

The Jewish point of view: an alternative meaning to life. Judaism perhaps has the answer, for it has always stressed the centrality of meaning to human existence. Huston Smith recognized this uniqueness and wrote: "What lifted the Jews from obscurity to permanent religious greatness was their passion for meaning." He then enumerated seven categories of meaning in the mosaic of Judaism:

1. Meaning in God
2. Meaning in Creation
3. Meaning in Man
4. Meaning in History
5. Meaning in Morality
6. Meaning in Justice
7. Meaning in Suffering

Since most of the categories have been dealt with in Chapter III within the context of Jewish Values, only two will be discussed here--"Meaning in Creation" and "Meaning in Man." They have also been chosen because they are most relevant to this chapter's topic, which is the trialogue between man, spirit and world. Its implications for education appear in the various educational strategies presented in this study.

Meaning in creation. Huston Smith stresses that the Jewish search for meaning was rooted in the understanding of God. That is only partially true. A better description of this search would be that it was rooted in their understanding of humanity and nature. The Meaning of Creation in relation to God assumes the position of first importance, since God is never subject

to philosophical speculation. God is a "given." The Torah begins with the words: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was unformed and void . . . and the spirit of God hovered over the . . . waters. And God said: 'Let there be light.' And there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good. And God divided the light from the darkness." (Stress added.)[6]

Each of these underlined words sets the tone for future Judaic concepts. The first verb is "creation," creation of the earth, humankind's abode. But because the earth was, at the beginning, amorphous, it could only be given form if the "spirit" hovered over it and inspired creativity. Then came the "word"--speech, language. Only language, the attribute that makes persons unique among all living creatures, can produce light--light which can only be good. But to be good, "light" had to be distinct, thus it was divided from the darkness. Anticipating the nature of human beings --unity of contradictory passions of light and darkness --the concept of "division" was also created. Thus, absolute moral criteria were created together with the forms of the universe, so that human "dominion" over the earth, which he was to continue to create after God had given him the raw materials (nature), was contingent on

distinguishing "light" from "darkness."

Towards the end of the first Chapter of Genesis, ". . . God created man in his own image . . . male and female created He them." "Man," the human being, a reflection of the divine Spirit, was split (in only one respect) into male and female.

After creation, God rested on the Seventh Day "and hallowed it," as if to imply that if men and women were to emulate God's creation of cosmos out of chaos,[7] then they, too, would deserve leisure on the Sabbath, and finally the Messianic era of absolute Peace.

Huston Smith examines the entire realm of natural existence as God-created. He stresses that

> God . . . means a being in whom power and value converge, being who can do what he wants to do and who wants to do what is good. In this sense to affirm that existence is God-created is to affirm its enduring worth. . . . In this sense, the Jewish affirmation that the world was God-created laid a central plank in their outlook . . . however desperate their lot, . . . they never despaired of life itself. Meaning was always latent and the opportunity for a creative response always at hand.[8]

Thus the assumption that "existence is God-created" lends meaning to life, thus encouraging creativity on the human level.

As Freire demonstrates, this creativity engenders once more meaning that results from satisfaction acquired from the creative process.

Freire, describing his adult literacy program in Brazil, and calling it "a program which itself would be an act of creation, capable of releasing other creative acts," tells how it began.

> We began with the conviction that the role of man was not only to be in the world, but to engage in relations with the world--that through acts of creation and re-creation, man makes cultural reality and thereby adds to the natural world, which he did not make. We were certain that man's relation to reality, expressed as a Subject to an object, results in knowledge which man could express through language. (Stress added.)[9]

This relationship constitutes dialogue. Brinton interprets "relation" as "natural law" when he states that

> the term natural law, . . . means a faith in the substance of things hoped for, or . . . the very concept of natural law means that those who hold it believe that the gap between the real and the ideal . . . is no abyss, not actually a gap, but a relation. (Stress added.)[10]

H. Smith explains that man finds his truest happiness in creating, not in possessing. This, he stresses, means that "Humanity must first be fulfilled in Him. The creative work . . . is the fulfillment of his ethos."[11]

Freire, too, stresses that humanization is man's vocation. But, he warns that,

> . . . attempting to be more human, individualistically, leads to having more, egotistically. . . . Not that it is not fundamental to have in order to be human. Precisely because it is necessary, some men's having must not be allowed to

> constitute an obstacle to others' having, must not consolidate the power of the former to crush the latter.[12]

This, he says, dehumanizes because "having" can reinforce the power of he who has to destroy him who hasn't. Freire therefore objects to materialism only when it infringes on another's right to enjoy it also. In essence, he reiterates the spirit of Judaism as explained by Smith when he states that

> The entire assumption behind the prophets' denunciation of the extreme inequalities of wealth they saw was the reverse of the notion that material possessions are bad; they are so good that more persons should have more of them.[13]

Ortega y Gasset sees the very essence of living as a creative function, carving cosmos out of chaos:

> . . . to live is to find oneself forced to interpret life. Always, irresistibly, moment by moment we find ourselves with definite and fundamental convictions about what things are and what we ourselves are in the midst of them; this articulation of final convictions is what molds our chaotic surroundings into the unity of the world or a universe.[14]

Henri Bergson, too, sees the very essence of living as a creative function. His élan vital (reality's "vital impulse") in the past directed evolution away from instinct to intelligence. Later, the élan vital led both of these to intuition. This, he explains, is a self-conscious, instinctive, superior mode of comprehension constituting the creative process. Since reality is always in a state of becoming, logical

explanations of it are ineffective. Bergson stresses that reality is always unpredictable because it is forever creating new characteristics and even new laws that science has not yet discovered. Reality's chief quality, understood to be life or consciousness, is in effect the elan vital which can only be understood by intuition. Intellect can only comprehend static truths but intuition can discern the creative life process.

Bergson distinguishes between two types of religion--static and dynamic. The first comprises a set of myths to defend men and women against life's depressing experiences. When one observes this type of religion, one escapes from reality into the myths one has constructed and involves oneself in selfish ventures instead of devoting oneself to the commonweal. Dynamic religion, on the other hand, bases its beliefs on the identification of the human will with that of the divine, creating a mystical union. The mystic embraces humanity, blazes new paths and introduces spiritual reforms. In Bergson's "Creative Evolution," he maintains that through creative love the world came into being.[15]

This creative relationship of human beings and their world is interpreted differently by Mordecai Kaplan. He defines evil as "chaos still uninvaded by the creative energy, sheer chance unconquered by will and

intelligence." Thus he equates creativity with intelligence rather than with intuition. On the other hand, he understands God "as the creative life of the universe."[16]

Buber describes this creative process in divine manifestation as the "Triad of World Time." He notes that the fact that Judaism is completely dialogical gives it knowledge of the triad of time: creation, revelation, redemption.[17]

If humanity's search for "meaning in creation" can lead to an awareness of the concept of God as "the sum of animating, organizing forces and relationships . . . making a cosmos out of chaos,[18] then perhaps persons will gain the knowledge of the "triad of time." Their recognition of "creation" will lead them to "revelation"--the "relation between giving and receiving." This act of dialogue will help them to realize "redemption" in the "whole corporeal life."

Buber's "triad of time" is also treated by Franz Rosenzweig but expanded by him with the added dimensions of God, humanity and the world. He is not concerned with substantive source of phenomena but with their mutual interrelations. Therefore he builds his "Star of Redemption" with two triangles. One contains God, humanity and the World. The other--Revelation, Creation

and Redemption. He defines the world as the created world in its absolute meaning. Creation, Revelation and Redemption are all processes. Relative creation, relative revelation and relative redemption together constitute the absolute universe in which we live. This universe is made up of the mutual activity of God, humanity and the World. Rosenzweig traces movement on the first triangle as follows: God's love moves to humans who give it to the world. God's relation to the world is one of a guardian. In the second triangle, God begins dialogue with humans which then continues forever. The content of this dialogue, i.e., Revelation, is love. The content of Creation is knowledge, thus pagan. Creation is a fact, the reason for the existence of things. Humans, on the other hand, are existential but obstinate. With the coming of Redemption, humanity, world and language disappear. God alone remains and all existence is in God.[19]

The dialogical nature of Rosenzweig's thought as reflected in The Star of Redemption elucidates what has been said above. He stresses that ". . . Only in the discovery of a 'Thou' is it possible to hear an actual 'I,' . . . Only an 'I,' not a 'He,' can pronounce the imperative of love."

This love, Rosenzweig explains, suffusing the

universe and time, enable man to love his neighbor. But first he must acknowledge God. Once this is done, God exists in the consciousness of man. As Rosenzweig says, "The imperative belongs to revelation as the indicative belongs to creation." Redemption, he stresses, begins with "We," the "pronoun of totality derived from the dual. . . . Man is to love his neighbour like himself . . . not 'thyself.'"

The author of The Star of Redemption points out that a person is to remain a "Thou" but his neighbor is not to remain a "He" or a mere "it." On the contrary, a human being's fellow human is a "Thou" like himself, an "I"--a soul.[20]

Meaning in human beings. If the commandment "to love your neighbor" is to be motivated subjectively and positively, then men and women must comprehend their own nature--in relation to themselves and to the world around them. What, indeed, are the characteristics constituting their nature?

Huston Smith enumerates five attributes characterizing humanity in Judaism: frailty; grandeur; sin; freedom; and "sonship" to God.

> Remove his frailty--as grass, as a sigh, as dust . . .--and the estimate becomes romantic. Remove his grandeur--a little lower than God--and aspiration declines. Remove sin--his tendency to miss the mark --and the picture grows sentimental. Remove freedom

> --choose ye this day!--and man becomes a puppet. Remove, finally, his sonship to God and man becomes estranged. . . . With all that has been discovered about man in the intervening 2500 years it is difficult to find the flaw.[21]

Attributing our humanity to consciousness in comparison to the animal's lack of it, Cassirer, Kaplan, Freire and Terry all emphasize that consciousness generates moral responsibility. Human beings possess a social consciousness that, as Cassirer indicates, depends on the double act of identification and discrimination.

Freire stresses that human consciousness enables men and women to be aware of themselves and therefore of the world. For the animal life lacking self-consciousness, is totally determined. For animals, the world is merely a physical space, not an historical one. Thus they do not distinguish between themselves and the world.[22]

This distinction adds a crucial dimension of meaning to human existence. It is the dimension of free choice. But without the tool of language, the concept cannot be operative.

Language as the human expression of living life. Human consciousness, although generating self-awareness, cannot transform the world without the faculty of speech. As Cassirer notes, "man" cannot "live his life without expressing his life. The various modes of this expression . . . have a life of their own, a sort of

eternity by which they survive man's individual and ephemeral existence." He goes on to say that this expression fundamentally is reflected in a "ceaseless struggle between tradition and innovation, between reproductive and creative forces."[23]

Buber stresses that "The true civilizing tool is not Prometheus' fire but speech!" amd adds that "genuine conversation means the acceptance of otherness," implying dialogue.[24]

N. Chomsky, correlating language with freedom, observes that man's nature is qualitatively distinctive. This is demonstrated, he explains, by the UG (Universal Grammar) structure which does not exist in "nonhuman organisms," and adds "that the capacity for free, appropriate and creative use of language as an expression of thought . . . provided by the language faculty, is also a distinctive feature of the human species, having no significant analogue elsewhere."[25]

Inasmuch as language reflects the human struggle for freedom and is an instrument for obtaining it; and inasmuch as dialogue is liberating, speech is indispensable for dialogical action.

Man's singularity: universals in commonalities and differences. Another manifestation of the grandeur of human beings is their potential ability to live

creatively within groups without losing their individuality. Modern persons, however, find difficulty in straddling both these dimensions. The problem, as Musgrave noted above, is anonymity. Although modern Israel is an industrial society generating this phenomenon, her Jewish culture might very well provide the solution to the problem. The pluralistic, paradoxical nature of "man" is described in the Mishnah (Tract. Sanhedrin 4:5), in which it is written that Biblical man was created as the single forefather of mankind. Thus human life is sacrosanct.

The Mishna assumes that since all people have a common ancestor, peace should reign among human beings since no one can say that his father is greater than another's. It is also explained in the Sanhedrin Tractate that whereas "man stamps many coins with one die and they all look alike . . . the Holy One stamped every human being with the stamp of Adam, yet no person is like any other."[26] Thus, the Jewish conception of a human being is, indeed, unique. This concept might well provide the basis for a solution to the problem of contemporary humanity's alienation. In fact, Israel can draw from its ancient sources with very modern tools, for out of the age of anxiety, a new and holistic branch of psychology has developed--Personology. This has grown out

of the concern, as Maddi points out, that due to the adoption of "process" psychology, the psychology of "person" has been relegated to a peripheral world of the psychotherapist, behaviour modifier and encounter group.

Maddi stresses that the personologist is interested in universals--in commonalities--as well as in the attempt to identify and classify differences among people.[27]

Perhaps Israel would be able to encourage cultural pluralism among her different ethnic groups (inspired by the Mishnaic approach) on one hand, and would be able to apply modern psychological research on the other. Carlson's contention that "This tradition's . . . aim is that of identifying group differences which make a difference . . ." would seem to provide a working hypothesis for such research and subsequent application. The trend towards anonymous conformity in Israel might also undergo positive modification if the Mishnaic tradition and modern Personology were investigated and applied.

In a virtual paraphrase of the above excerpt from Tractate Sanhedrin on man's uniqueness, Kluckohn and Murray stress that "every man is . . . like <u>all</u> other men, like <u>some</u> other men, and like <u>no</u> other men."[28] Rae Carlson, quoting the above, points out that the typology may point to a conceptually based set of

solutions to present problems, analyzing each fact of the hypothesis:

> . . . like all other men." . . . persons are essentially "carriers" of the variable under investigation. . . . The basic assumption of the equivalence of subjects leads to further methodological implications (such as) . . . de-emphasis upon genetic variation, . . . situational factors as major sources of variation in human nature. Among the many examples of generalist tradition . . . one notes works on cognitive dissonance, the attraction and impression formation, the conditions under which cooperation and competition are elicited in interpersonal events. . . . like some other men." . . . This tradition's aim is that of identifying group differences that make a difference . . . like no other men." . . . Inquiry in the individual tradition seeks to a) examine organization of psychological processes within the individual, b) establish assessment methods deriving from the intrinsic structure and dynamics of the individual structure and dynamics of the individual . . . d) identify general psychological problems emerging from the examination of individual personality . . .[29]

Buber stresses that the uniqueness of the human person is not in the individual nor in the collective but in the meeting of "I" and "Thou"--i.e., dialogue.[30] However, there seems to be no contradiction between the description of the human person by the Mishna and by the Personology school of psychology. On the contrary, meetings and contact between the individual and the group or between groups reflecting differences is the epitome of dialogue--the meeting of "I" and "Thou." Buber always seems to imply that dialogue can take place between two individuals but there is no reason why this concept cannot be transferred to other planes and frameworks of

communication.

Process in Dialogue

Freire also attributes the human person's uniqueness to dialogue, which makes him or her an historical being. Stressing that existence is a dynamic concept, he states that it implies eternal dialogue with humans, the world and God.[31] This trialogue will constitute the basis for the Construct of the Vision of Dialogue. It is to be called Ruah'adama'muda, and is discussed later in this chapter.

The axiomatic injunction to conduct dialogue with any one of the three "subjects" mentioned by Freire poses a significant question. Why should a person dialogue--through interest, respect or love (or all three)--with anyone else? Freire replies: "I cannot exist without a not-I. In turn, the not-I depends on that existence."[32] Judging from his allusion to trialogue, the "not-I" could be humans or the world or God. Buber, however, expresses it as the human need to listen to "that which grows, to the way of Being in the world . . . to actualize it in the manner in which it, needing him, wants to be actualized by him--with human spirit and human deed . . ."[33] Buber explains that "the purpose of relation is relation itself--touching the you. For as soon

as we touch a You, we are touched by a breath of eternal life."[34] Herein lies Buber's interpretation of the Biblical commandment, "Love your neighbor as yourself--I am God."

This mutuality in a "relationship" manifests itself in the "word." As Freire observes, ". . . the essence of dialogue itself is the word. . . .Within the word (are) two dimensions; reflection and action. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world."[35] In order to exist, humanly, according to Freire, one must name the world and change it. To utter a true word is the right of every person.

The Brazilian educator-thinker provides several crucial insights on this point, all connected to his theory of the Critical Stage of Consciousness.

A true word is the highest (most divine) level of consciousness,[36] and Freire equates naming with the true word. If, on the one hand, "to speak a true word is to transform a world," and on the other, it is the highest level of human consciousness, and if persons--each and every person--is a child of God, then the work of transformation is the right of every person. Therefore, the word cannot be a monologue, and no person can speak the "true word" for another. This would be

paternalism.

To combat, and perhaps, prevent paternalism, Freire poses dialogue as the alternative to monologue. He states that "Only dialogue which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking."[37] Such thinking

> . . . which discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and men and admits of no dichotomy between them--thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation rather than as a static entity--thinking which does not separate itself from action. . . . For the critic, the important thing is the continuing transformation of reality, in behalf of the continuing humanization of men . . .[38]

Kaplan, advocating transformation in the spirit of "solidarity between the world and men," introduces the concept of God's sovereignty as the divine manifestation of social reconstruction. He notes that the Jewish belief in the coming of God's Kingdom implied a discontent with a status quo which failed to conform to the divine will. But as long as God's sovereignty was thought to be outside human experience, only the Divine Ruler could bring about the hoped-for better order. But, stresses Kaplan, if God is conceived as immanent in human society, then "the responsibility for ushering in the Kingdom of God on earth rests squarely with mankind."[39]

According to Kaplan, this change in approach to

God in human society stems from the fact that over recent centuries humanity has learned to manipulate nature, and now recognizes "that a better future cannot emerge out of the mode of life . . . at present . . . without human striving and initiative." The "sovereignty of God," he points out, must imply the duty which "that sovereignty imposes upon man to transform the conditions of life so as to make the world livable physically, socially, and spiritually." (Stress added.)[40]

> The tendency now is to view man's initiative and active striving in transforming the conditions under which God manifests Himself or becomes sovereign in human life.

This leads Kaplan to the conclusion that "in all our relations with one another the criterion should be . . . to synthesize the two objectives of the enrichment of individual personality and . . . cooperation among individuals and groups. (This) must become the dominant aim of all education and the passionate purpose of social reform." (Stress added.)[41]

Ecological dialogue. The Torah sees the earth as collateral, given to be used, not possessed. If, within the context of the Brith (covenant), Adam misuses it, then it shall be taken away.[42] Thus the Torah warns Adam of the terms of the contract:

> If you will listen to my commandments . . . to love your God (loving God equals loving your neighbour - s.h.g.) with all your heart and all your soul,

> (then) I shall provide the rains of your land in their time . . . and I will provide pasture in your fields for your animals and you shall eat and be satiated.
>
> Beware lest your hearts will tempt you to worship other gods. (In that case) God will stop the heavens from providing rain, and the land will not yield its crop, and you shall quickly disappear from off the face of the good earth that God has given you . . .43

During the last century, reinterpreters of Judaism have deleted this segment from the most important prayer in Judaic liturgy, the Shema Yisrael (Hear O Israel, . . . the Lord is One), for they have failed to see any correlation between human behaviour and the earth's fertility. They have failed to understand the importance of the "dialogical" nature of a person's relationship to God and to the Earth. Perhaps now this segment can be understood in light of the new Freirian "transformation," but especially in view of Terry's following explanation.

Mark Terry also sheds light on "transformation" from an ecological point of view when he points out that useless or toxic combinations may be subject to transformations when they do not have a raison d'être. Material resources are decreased because the supply of each element is limited. Thus, living room is also decreased within the Earth's area.

Terry stresses that as Earth's resources decrease more and more, their equitable distribution among all

the world's nations--especially the poor ones--becomes less possible.

Thus, if modern persons were to observe the social commandments, then nature's balance would be rectified and humanity, especially "the poor world" would "eat and be satiated." The dialogical nature of the human person's relationship to God and Earth might then transform the world, this world, into the "Kingdom of God" through the praxis of social justice.

How can this praxis be realized? Through cooperation as dialogical action. Mordecai Kaplan's stress on "cooperation" as the "dominant strain of all education" is shared by Freire who writes that only through communication can cooperation be achieved. Therefore dialogue, an essential part of communication, is indispensable for the realization of cooperation.

Freire points out that the framework of cooperation helps those who dialogue to cope with the reality--posed as a problem--that mediates them. The attempt to solve this problem, he says, constitutes "the action of dialogical subjects upon reality in order to transform it."[44]

Buber, too, conceives of cooperation as dialogical action. He envisions the educator as one who comes to see him or herself as a stimulus to materializing forces,

and who believes that in every person what is right is established in a single and uniquely personal way. Buber contends that "'I-it' is the primary word of experiencing and using."[45] He includes two additional dimensions--"man" and God, and maintains that

> the "ideal forms" that man meets as "Thou" are not Platonic archetypes but merely the potentialities of form that arise from man's meeting with the world . . .
>
> Our potentialities cannot be divorced from the discovery of personal direction, and this comes not in the meeting of man with himself but with other men.[46]

Self-actualization as preparation for dialogical encounter. Buber has apparently overlooked the Mishnaic dictum, "If I am not for myself, who is for me?" (Avot 1:14) Of course, the second part, "And when I am (only) for myself, what am I?" implies "meeting . . . with other men" in dialogue. But how can "man" hope to meet with others until he has met with himself?

Karl Jaspers stresses that in order to reach existential communication "I have to enter into the tormenting relation of eternal discontent at the moment when the other makes himself an object to me, instead of meeting me."[47] How can the person who wants to be accepted as a subject and who wants to accept the other as a subject withstand the trauma created by the other who makes him or herself an object? How can the one overcome

the disappointing anguish created by "the tormenting relation of eternal discontent?" One can withstand and overcome it, and be prepared to try again only if one comes to the encounter strengthened by self-actualization. This preparation can be achieved in several ways. First, one must attempt to achieve personal critical consciousness--a fortified ego--through Freirian "reflection" and Jewish "introspection," customarily carried out only during the High Holidays. Secondly, one can draw from Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha (Insistence on Adherence to Truth). Narayan Desai, describing this educational methodology to transform society, points out that

> . . . purification of the self and the change of society are . . . inter-related and inter-dependent. . . . The self-preparation of a Satyagrahi means the development of the total personality. . . . A Satyagrahi tries to develop . . . three broad faculties described by the Geeta as "Jnana" or knowledge, "Karma" or action and "Bhakti" or devotion . . . in a way which will create a balance between them and result in harmony of his personality. . . . A Satyagrahi will keep his windows open to all influences from all directions but would refuse to be swept away by any one of them.[48]

Desai then describes in detail the elements of the above three faculties--knowledge, action and devotion. all of them include both spiritual and practical aspects of self-preparation.

Once a human being feels more or less actualized, he or she can enter into relation with others. This should not deter one from attempting dialogical relations

prior to this feeling of self-realization. Ideally, however, the chances of successful dialogue are greater when a person feels that he or she has developed optimally.

The Vision of Dialogue: Ruah'adama'muda as Its Basic Construct

Once persons actualize themselves optimally by attempting to translate every facet of their conscious life into dialogical holiness, i.e., committed social consciousness, several things occur as a result. For them, the Greek-Christian dichotomy of Church and State is abolished, as well as the dichotomies of Sabbath and weekday, bounded "religion" and secular science, society and state. They become a human being's living in holiness, dialogical persons living through Love--as love has been interpreted by Fromm, Buber, Freire, Rosenzweig and Bergson. The cycle of oppression is then replaced by the divinely human Spirit. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit alone, saith the Lord of Hosts . . ." (Zecharia IV:6) This, then, would constitute the Vision of Dialogue as an alternative to Western Positivism.

Ruah'adama'muda. When the Prophet Zecharaiah replaces might and power with "my spirit alone"--God's spirit--

he invests this "spirit" with at least as much "might" and "power" as human beings attribute to them. The Bible imbues this concept with different values in different contexts. In the First Book of Samuel, 10:10 the term implies prophecy: ". . . a band of prophets met him (Saul); and the spirit of God came mightily upon him and he prophesied among them . . . then the people said one to another . . . Is Saul also among the prophets?" In Isaiah, 11:2 the Divine Spirit takes on several dimensions: "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, The spirit of wisdom and understanding, The spirit of counsel and might, The spirit of knowledge . . ." In Ezekiel 37:9-14, the Prophet is commanded to revive the dead bones of Israel, an allegory depicting the hopeless despondency of the Jews in Exile: "Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O Spirit, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live . . . when I have opened your graves and caused you to come out of your graves, O my people, and I will put my spirit in you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land."

In each case Spirit is Divinely Inspired but it is also autonomous. In Zecharia, because Spirit is juxtaposed to power, it of necessity takes on a power of its own. With King Saul, the Spirit of prophecy becomes

an independent attribute, identifying Saul as a full-fledged prophet. In Isaiah, the Spirit of God is equated with the "force" or élan vital of wisdom, counsel, et al. Each significant characteristic of the human person is generated by this Divine Spirit, but once it passes from the source--God, it belongs to the other, and together they constitute an entity. In the case of Ezekiel, the Spirit is one of Life--generating both biological and "spiritual" sustenance.

Thus Ruah (spirit) in the Dialogical Vision's construct--Ruah'adama'muda--is the source of Spirituality in trialogue: adam = man; adama = earth; muda = (literally, "conscious of . . .") consciousness (leading to knowledge). This trialogue = mutuality. A person cannot be whole without the integration of these three elements. He or she needs Ruah to exist and to create cosmos out of chaos. Ruah, on the other hand, needs the human person in order to be manifest, as in prophecy, might or counsel. If a person does not live in holiness, then no divine spirit manifests itself, inspiring him or her to survive or create. Ruah needs earth--nature, world--to express itself in beauty and aesthetics and in the natural laws of science. The earth needs Ruah--physical and spiritual to announce physical, chemical, biological, botanical laws, to

demonstrate infinite order, as well as infinite possibilities. Humans created from the Earth, return to it upon death and become one with it. Even though they have mistakenly tried to rule the earth and to master nature, the common fate of the two is inevitable. Humanity must conduct a dialogue with nature in order to survive, and nature must interact with humanity in order to continue to exist. And without Ruah infusing humanity and nature, neither can survive.[49]

Freire emphasized that "existence implies eternal dialogue with humanity, the world and God." Rosenzweig, in his Star of Redemption includes these same elements in his schema. However, Freire does not analyze these concepts in depth. He mentions it in passing. Rosenzweig, on the other hand, builds an elaborate edifice but the human role in the process from Creation to Redemption is quite passive. Humanity even disappears in the Redemptive stage. True, people are enjoined to bring God's love to the world, to other people and to God. In general, however, the "Star" points to social consciousness and mysticism at the same time.

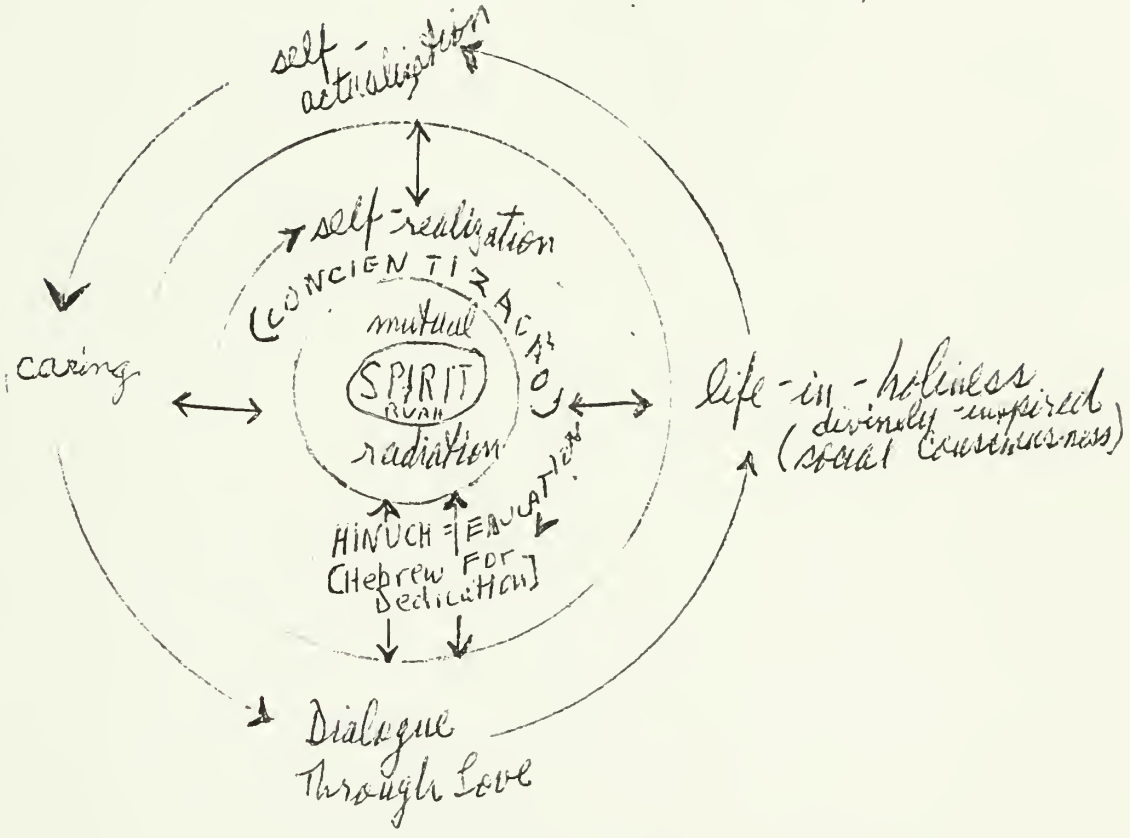
On the other hand, 'adama'muda attempts to demonstrate that the human being is imbued with the Divine Spirit. He or she is also conscious that a human's internal Spirit is only part of the cosmic one

pervading the universe. Thus this Spirit--Ruah--can be enriched outside a person in the world (Adama) in another person (Adam) in Itself, in the never-ending eons of time. Ruah can be nurtured either by "man" (Adam) or the world (Adama) because it exists equally in both. It pervades both. Just as Adam or Adama generate Ruah, enriching it outside their spheres, so does Ruah re-generate itself reciprocally to Adam or Adama. There is no need for Revelation or Redemption because there is ongoing Muda (consciousness). Muda represents Adam's perennial critical consciousness. But inasmuch as he or she is an integral part of Adama and Ruah (due to the very active existence of Muda) both reveal themselves to Adam all the time just as Adam does to them. Redemption is perpetual, too, not only for Adam but for all three equally because there is an ongoing reciprocal trialogue between them. Muda, generated by one, is received by the other and returned to the generator. This ongoing process will be demonstrated by two diagrams and explained in detail on the following pages.

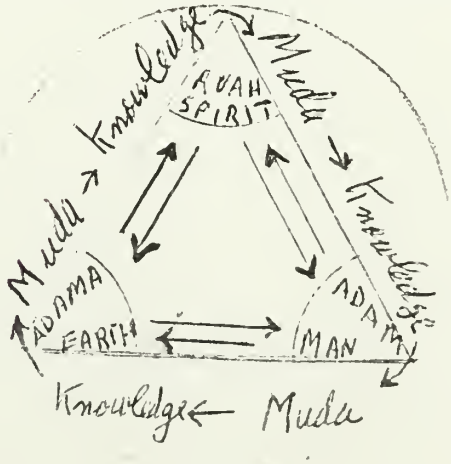
The first diagram is called the "Man-Holy-Dialogue Cycle." The second one is called "The Ruah' Adama'Muda Trialogue." Once both are understood, the reader should try to envision the second diagram overlapping the first, but at a distance which creates a

1. Man-Holy-Dialogue Cycle

(By its very nature, it is multidirectional; creates Spirit and is nurtured by it.)



2. The Ruah'Adama'Muda Trialogue



dimension conducive to mutual radiation. Although the first is micro and the second macro, both are integrally interrelated.

In Diagram No. 1, the Man-Holy-Dialogue Cycle: Outer circle: Dialogue takes place, motivated by self-need for Love. Once reciprocated, extends Love to other. Converse also possible. Self-need extends Love, thus stimulating other to reciprocate Love. Saturated with Love, wants to share it with more people, thus Life-in-holiness (social consciousness). In order to contribute to society-at-large, becomes conscious of need to self-actualize. Once self-actualized, has personal power and tools to be better able to care for others, thus caring. Essence of caring, dialogical reciprocity. Giving generates giving by "other." Thus dialogue-in-action returns giving, creating Love.

Inner circle, in opposite direction: Education, imbued with dedication, passes through Spirit-nurturing reciprocity, then branches out to both life-in-holiness and caring. Both create new awareness for need of self-realization. Process can also take longer, i.e., through Ruah, one at a time. End result the same. Self-realization creates tools and personal power to return to critical consciousness, on to Spirit. Armed with augmented Ruah, inspired to go on to educate in a

dedicated fashion. Since education is dialogical, leads on to Love, et al.

In Diagram No. 2, Ruah exists "out there" but reinforced by three-way triangular circle, as it also nurtures each of three--Ruah, Adam and Adama. Thus perpetual regeneration. Therefore, Ruah, although nucleus of cycle no. 1, nevertheless embodies all of it on Ruah'adama'muda Trialogue. Man/woman is muda--conscious of others because he/she is muda to Ruah (embodying caring, dialogue, etc.). Through Hinuch, dedicated to actualization of all points on circle. Ruah is muda to Adam--in dialogue with him/her. But this is not Revelation since Ruah has already been revealed in Cycle no. 1. This perpetual spiritual cycle can be interpreted, as in traditional Judaism, as emulating God; as Torah enjoins persons to be Holy "because I am holy." However, in Ruah'adama'muda, man is living in Ruah'adama'muda. Holiness (divinely inspired social consciousness)[50] creates spirit (Ruah) Godliness, which re-envelopes humanity and all its works which again creates spirit et al.

Adam muda to adama because he/she learns, on Circle No. 1, that actualization of all parts is contingent on dialogue with nature for self-interest, but also, as Freire says, ". . . adds to the natural

world which he did not make." Adama muda to Adam (man/woman) due to latter's attempt not to over-exploit adama for his/her needs. Thus, adama reciprocates by "providing the rains of your land in their time . . ."

Adama muda to Ruah as source of ecological order and balance. Like humanity, draws from spirit and nurtures it by creative-atrophic regenerative style.

Ruah muda to adama by same token: it provides ecological balance, being conscious of adama's (the world's or nature's) need for such balance, drawing from its energy cycle and replenishing it at same time--since Ruah is unending in cosmic eions of time.

The No. 1 cycle--Man-Holy-Dialogue--can also be perceived as a target, Ruah constituting the "Bull's Eye." When and if one hits Ruah, embodying all of No. 1--one achieves completion, perfection, approaching the ultimate in Ruah. But usually one "misses the mark." This constitutes the concept of "sin" in Judaism (see H. Smith, in this chapter, section on "Meaning in Man"). Either one is distracted or out of practice. To get back into form, one must pick up the "dart"--the Mitzvot (Commandments) of the Torah (the divinely inspired social consciousness that is holiness) and practice implementing them, until one gets close to the target and perhaps hits the "Bull's Eye."

Thus Ruah is at one and the same time "out there" --an objective to aim at and pursue--and the "process" which man/woman must "live out" and "act out."

"Het" is not "sin," "culpa," blame, which only complicates the emotions and actually corrodes one's marksmanship. "Het" is poor marksmanship which can and should be corrected. If the poor marksman gets depressed, gives up the battle to "perfect" himself, he slips down into the Magical Stage of fatalism and subservience and loses the image of Ruah which is potentially his from birth. To "return" to the Critical Stage of "firing at the target" of holiness, "man" has to repent--i.e., to "return" to his source--the dialogical Ruah from which he was created and which he re-creates all the time. Thus, in essence, there is no innate evil in man--only the inability to know how to do what he knows he must do. This knowledge is both congenital "conscience" and socialized learning through dedicated education. Man's behaviour approaches evil when he consciously rejects holiness, rips up the target of perfection and sinks into the abyss of nihilism. He can reach this state through ancient and modern idolatry, permissiveness, self-deprecation, et al.-- all of which transform him into a docile servant of another oppressive man, system or process instead of an

autonomous, critical and creative servant of Ruah.

Since serving Ruah also constitutes "serving" his fellowman and respecting nature, man creates "co-operation" instead of "destructive" competition. As long as he competes with his fellowman for Ruah-Perfection, the competition is "constructive." But if he competes for and covets another man's possessions, the materials and resources of the earth and the sole possession of the Ruah-Target of Perfection (haughtiness), then competition is "destructive."

When this occurs, Freire's four (modified) stages can constitute the instrument of "return" to target practice--of the actualizing of the self and the cooperating group.

This, then, should be the philosophical base of Dialogical Education. Before attempting to implement this philosophical vision, however, the conditions conducive to Dialogue should be clarified. Without them the process of dialogue cannot even begin. These conditions include faith, trust, hope, humility and love.

Conditions for Dialogue

Faith. According to both Buber and Freire, faith is one of the important conditions of dialogue. Yet, faith is

rapidly being replaced by immediate action in most Western-oriented societies, including Israel. Ultimate faith is not only being replaced by immediate action, but worse, it is being replaced by a faith in doom. Buber explains that

> in our age, instead of believing in a faith that liberates, most people believe in a "medley of forces" that rule man's fate, just as the ancient Roman believed in a "medley of gods." He attributes this belief to such world views as "the 'law of life'--a struggle in which everybody must either join in the fight or renounce life or the 'psychological law' according to which innate drives constitute the entire human soul . . ."

Buber stresses that the medley idol a priori negates the concept of freedom. Thus, human beings who accept this view would seem to be irrevocably imprisoned in the Magical Stage of Freire.

Stressing that "nothing can doom man but the belief in doom," Buber warns that such belief "prevents the movement of return."[52] The implications of this conclusion are that the inability of a human being to "return" means that he is incapable of change--the transformation of himself and of his or her environment. Thus education, unless highly prescriptive, has no purpose.

However, Erich Fromm believes that if human beings are guided by principles and norms within the context of a humanistic religion, then he will be capable of

understanding himself in relation to his fellow human being and the universe. This implies the belief in a liberating education.

In the spirit of Bergson, he points out that "the question is not 'religion or not' but which kind of religion, one furthering man's development or stifling it. . . . The crucial difference is between an authoritarian and humanistic religion."[53] Fromm defines a humanistic religion as one "centered around man and his strength."[54] This strength is the development of "his power of reason in order to understand himself, his relationship to his fellow man and his position in the universe. . . . He must have principles and norms to guide him in this aim . . ."[55]

Tillich also perceives man's power of reason as his strength. However, he stipulates reason as

> . . . the precondition of faith. . . . For only a being who has the structure of reason is able to be ultimately concerned, to understand the unconditional commands of the ethical imperative, and to be aware of the presence of the holy. All this is valid only if the . . . meaning of reason is presupposed: reason as the meaningful structure of mind and reality; and not . . . reason as a technical tool . . .
>
> Man's reason is finite; it moves within finite relations when dealing with the universe and with man himself. . . . But reason is not bound to its own finitude. It is aware of it and . . . rises above it. . . . Man is finite, man's reason lives in preliminary concerns; but man is also aware of his potential infinity and this awareness appears as his ultimate concern, as faith.[56]

Tillich distinguishes between two kinds of "reason." The first implies "the sense of scientific method, logical strictness and technical calculation." The second, he says, is used "in the sense of the source of meaning, of structure, of norms and principles." The first meaning provides the tools for becoming conscious of reality and controlling it. In this case, faith gives it direction. Tillich believes that the second meaning "identifies reason" with the humanity of man in contrast to all other beings."

Referring to the second meaning, and explaining modern man's alienation as one of the products of Rationalism, Tillich points out that

> Reason can be fulfilled only if it is driven beyond the limits of its finitude, and experiences the . . . ultimate, the holy. Without such an experience reason . . . becomes filled with . . . demonic contents and is destroyed by them. . . . Reason is the presupposition of faith, and faith is the fulfillment of reason. There is no conflict between the nature of faith and the nature of reason . . .[57]

Explaining his concept of "ultimate concern," Tillich equates it with "faith," uniting the objective and subjective sides of the act of faith.[58]

He defines "the subjective side of the act of faith" as "the faith through which one believes" whereas the "objective side" is "the faith which is believed." The first is the term for the centered act of personality

and the second for "that toward which the act is directed, the ultimate itself, expressed in symbols of the divine. . . . There is no faith without a content . . . and there is no way of having the content of faith except in the act of faith." On the other hand, Tillich, in the spirit of Buber's "medley idol" points out that the more faith is idol-centered, the less it is able to bridge the gap between subject and object. The consequence of such a faith, he explains, is "existential disappointment" which invades the very existence of the human being who holds to it. Tillich stresses that in every act of faith--daring and courage--there is always the possibility of failure but, he declares, "The risk must be taken."[59]

Polanyi describes the nature of knowledge in much the same way as Tillich explains the nature of faith. He notes that personal knowledge is discovered--not made. It commits the discoverer to a vision of reality. If the commitment is accepted as the framework of truth, the hazards of belief are circumscribed. In this statement, Polanyi actually "reduces" the absolute risk described by Tillich. At the same time, it strengthens the dimension of belief itself.

On the other hand, Polanyi stresses that error is "a necessary element of any belief bearing on reality,

and to withhold belief on the grounds of such a hazard is to break off all contact with reality." Polanyi emphatically states that "The freedom of the subjective person to do as he pleases is overruled by the freedom of the responsible person to act as he must . . ."[60] His stress on commitment and responsibility, in effect constitutes Tillich's "ultimate concern." But the very risk involved, the possibility of error once the commitment is accepted, might well weaken faith itself.

Buber proposes the final ring that seals the circle of faith and commitment--the act of relation. Buber proposes the final ring that seals the circle of faith and commitment--the act of relation.

> Life's rhythm of pure relation, the alternation of actuality and a latency in which only our strength to relate . . . wanes, does not suffice man's thirst for continuity. He thirsts for something spread out in time, for duration. Thus God becomes an object of faith.[61]

According to Buber, the personal encounter of man with God does not satisfy man's thirst for continuity, for something out in space, for a manifestation of the community of the faithful united with its God. Therefore, Buber concludes, "the pure relation can be built up into spatio-temporal continuity only by becoming embodied in the whole stuff of life." He explains that

> Man can do justice to the relation to God that has been given to him only by actualizing God

> in the world in accordance with his ability and the measure of each day, daily. This is the only guarantees of continuity . . ." (Stress added.)[62]

Buber's emphasis on the actualization of God in the world by man "in accordance with his ability and the measure of each day, daily . . ." reiterates man's perpetual self-actualization in the trialogue of Ruah' adama'muda. Fromm and Tillich claim man's power of reason to be the precondition of faith. Polanyi's "commitment" circumscribes the dangers of belief. However, without humility, man cannot achieve the ultimate consciousness of faith, enhancing his ability to enter into dialogue.

Humility. Humility is the second condition for dialogue, a dialogue that will lead to the fulfillment of the vision of spirituality.

Freire points out that dialogue is broken if both or one of the parties lack humility. Those who lack humility cannot be the people's partners in naming the world.[63]

Milton Mayerhoff refers to humility as one of the ingredients in caring. He describes caring as the "antithesis of simply using the other person to satisfy one's own needs." Speaking positively, it is "helping another grow and actualize himself . . . a way

of relating to someone that involves development . . . through mutual trust and a deepending and qualitative transformation of the relationship."[64] This, in effect, is Mayeroff's version of dialogue. But he adds another dimension. He stresses that "besides caring for people . . . we may care for many other things as well . . . for a philosophical or an artistic idea, an ideal or a community."[65] Mayeroff sees humility as present in caring because there is always something more to learn from the one cared for: the teacher from the student, the parent from the child, and the artist from the work of art--all learn from the other.

Humility also involves the overcoming of pretentiousness; there is no need for self-display, concealment, posing and indirection.[66]

Humility is a very basic Jewish value. Moses and Solomon are only two of many Biblical examples of humility,[67] and the entire Jewish attitude to learning was one of humbleness and equality. A typical example of this is the Mishnaic dictum, "If you've learned lots (of Torah) don't attribute it to yourself, because for that you were created."[68] The Talmud alludes to humility vis-a-vis pride: "Why was man created on the sixth day? To teach that if he is ever swollen with pride, it can be said to him: A flea came ahead of thee in

creation." (Sanhedrin, 38a) In an anecdote from the Tractate Taanit (21b), the Talmud stresses humility in learning:

> Once Rab Nahman bar Isaac seated himself among the young students, another Rabbi went over to him and said: "Will you not be good enough to take a place more toward the front, where I am seated?"
> Rab Nahman bar Isaac replied: "The Place does not honour the man, but the man honours the place . . ."

The Mishnah, in Tractate Bereshit Rabbah (16,3) turns to nature to learn humility:

> They say to fruit-bearing trees: "Why do you not make any noise?" The trees reply: "Our fruits are sufficient advertisement for us."

The great Medieval Jewish philosopher, Ibn Gabirol, treated the quality of Modesty in a short treatise written in Arabic circa 1045, equating it with intelligence.

> A wise man was asked, "What is intelligence?" and he answered, "Modesty." Again he was asked, "What is modesty?" and he replied, "Intelligence" . . . With the help of intelligence man realizes the benefit of knowledge and gets to understand the true nature of things; he comes to acknowledge the Unity of God . . . and to bear a striking resemblance to the character of angels. Since this precious quality is of so noble a kind, it follows that modesty which resembles it is almost equally so . . . you will never see a modest man lacking intelligence, or an intelligent man devoid of modesty . . .[69]

A contemporary of Voltaire and Rousseau, Moses Luzzatto was one of the last great Jewish thinkers (of Italian origin) to write entirely in the medieval spirit.

Although schooled in Latin and the sciences, he preferred Hebrew and piety. His concept of Humility and the process of achieving it is reminiscent of Freire.

> Upon examination, we find that humility depends upon both thought and action. A man must be humble at heart before he can adopt the ways of the weak. . . . The habit of humility is acquired through training and reflection. The training consists in gradually habituating oneself to act humbly be always keeping in the background, and by dressing modestly; for a man's dress may be respectable without ostentation. In the very process of becoming habituated to these ways, humility gradually takes possession of a man's heart, until it is firmly established . . .[70]

The Prophet Micah, equating justice and mercy with humility in ancient Israel, best sums up this quality in the following lines:

> You have been told, O man, what is good,
> And what the Lord requires of you:
> Only to do justice, and to love mercy,
> And to walk humbly with your God. (6:6-8)

Trust. Freire writes that "trust is established by dialogue" but without dialogue, trust could never evolve. Thus it is a dialogical or circular process. "Trust is contingent on the evidence which one party provides the others of his true, concrete intentions; it cannot exist if that party's words do not coincide with his actions." If this element of trust is lacking in dialogue, then reciprocal relationship is impossible.

Mayeroff explains that the blossoming of trust

depends on the realization that "he trusts me." This has its own way of activating the person cared for to justify such trust, and to trust himself to grow. Trusting the other, Mayeroff explains, is not indiscriminate. The caring teacher trusts his or her students to independently pursue their own projects. The teacher provides the students with encouragement, assistance and the exposure to stimulating experiences. But, stresses Mayeroff, only the teacher or the person who trusts his or her own growth, who does not attempt to mold himself into a preconceived image, will also trust another person to grow.

Mayeroff observes that trusting the other "is to let go; it is an element of risk and a leap into the unknown, both of whick take courage."[71]

Hope. Why should one trust another person to grow? Mayeroff answers that trust is possible due to the existence of hope,

> hope that the other will grow through my caring which is more general than hope as a specific expectation; it is akin . . . to the coming of spring. It is not to be confused with wishful thinking. . . . Such hope is not an expression of the insufficiency of the present in comparison with the sufficiency of a hoped-for future; it is rather an expression of the plentitude of the present, a present alive with a sense of the possible[72]

Freire describes how hope is born of the

dialogical process of critical consciousness. He explains that in alienated societies hopelessness is transformed into hope when, at a given point in the historical process, new facts appear which stimulate self-consciousness. At this point, Freire notes, a new cultural milieu begins to form. Gradually, groups begin to become aware of themselves from their own perspective and potentialities. This changed perception of reality, he explains, imbued with new hope, augments critical consciousness. Society is then revealed as something unfinished.[73] It is in this very sense of incompletion that hope is rooted. From it, man moves out in search, a search that can only be carried out in contact and dialogue with others. Hopelessness, Freire explains,

> is a form of silence, of denying the world. . . . Dehumanization . . . is not a cause for despair but for hope, leading to . . . pursuit of the humanity denied by injustice. . . . As long as I fight, I am moved by hope; and if I fight with hope, then I can wait.[74]

Dialogue requires the element of hope.

Frankl conditions man's very existence on his ability to hope, to look to the future. Referring to his own experiences in the concentration camp, he observes that

> The prisoner who had lost faith in the future--his future--was doomed. With his loss of belief in the future, he also lost his spiritual hold; he let himself decline and became subject to mental and physical decay. . . . Those who know how close the connection is between the state of mind of a man--his courage and hope, or the lack

> of them--and the state of immunity of his body will understand that the sudden loss of hope and courage can have a deadly effect . . .[75]

It has frequently been noted by both parents and educators that neither verbal persuasion nor physical blows can affect a child's behaviour if he or she has lost hope or motivation. It would seem, then, that only a combination of all of the ingredients of caring, dialogue, faith, trust, humility and love may have some effect on the individual's motivation.

Love. Love has been interpreted in as many ways as life itself. Intuitively, everyone knows what it means. Yet, when required to define it succinctly, there is almost universal difficulty. In "The Art of Loving," Erich Fromm builds his entire hypothesis around the fact that the modern Western world is ignorant of the kind of Love Buber defines: "Love is responsibility of an I for a Thou."[76] Instead of loving, i.e., taking responsibility, most people understand the problem as that of being loved. The capability to love has become less important than being loved. This concept of object was one of the factors that encouraged freedom in personal relations. Fromm blames Freud's "instinctual" approach for this state of affairs.

> He did not see that the basic reality lies in the totality of human existence. . . . According to Freud, the full and uninhibited satisfaction of

> all instinctual desires would create mental health and happiness. But . . . men and women who devote their lives to unrestricted sexual satisfaction do not attain happiness, and very often suffer from severe neurotic conflicts . . .
>
> Yet Freud's idea could only have become so popular after World War I because of changes in . . . capitalism, from the emphasis on saving to that on spending, from self-frustration . . . to consumption . . . and as the main satisfaction for the anxious . . . individual. Not to postpone the satisfaction of any desire became the main tendency in the sphere of sex as well as in that of all material consumption. (Stress added.)[77]

Immediate sexual or emotional gratification can have a disruptive impact on the social structure. In the United States the increasing breakdown in family life[78] has caused thoughtful people, among them anthropologists and sociologists, to advocate the writing of marriage contracts. In Israel to this day, as in the Diaspora, Orthodox Jews draw up such contracts called "Conditions" before the wedding of any couple. Some modern Israelis laugh at such limiting devices. Yet, due to the basic premise of the sanctity of marriage, and the responsibility it entails, most Orthodox marriages remain intact.

The concept of Brith (Covenant), the cornerstone of Judaism, could perhaps tie together the loose ends of all the "ingredients" of Caring and Dialogue. Franz Bader defined faith as a "pledge of faith, that is as a tying of oneself, a betrothing of oneself, an entering into a covenant."[79] The act of putting on phylacteries[80]

every morning is accompanied by the recitation of three verses from the prophet Hosea: "And I shall betrosh thee forever; and I shall betroth thee with Justice and Mercy; and I shall betroth thee with Faith, and you shall know God." These concepts can easily be transferred to the context of a marriage contract, or for that matter to any contract involving dialogical human relations. "Forever" connotes loyalty, persistence, constancy. "Faith" has been dealt with as one of the elements of dialogue. To "know God" means self-actualization in relation, as discussed earlier. It is interesting that the Torah refers over and over again to "knowing a man or a woman" when describing sexual intercourse. To "know" is the deepest dimension of experience because it involves all the faculties of a person, one's totality. Therefore, when the Jew is commanded to "Love your God with all your soul, with all your might" and immediately following is told "to teach your children, upon walking, going to bed and rising . . ." (Deut. 8) this love is equated with "Love Your Neighbour as Yourself"--love as the act of relation, responsibility and dialogue.

In the first part of this chapter, it has been established that in order to attain critical consciousness, life must have meaning. Spiritual and physical

love and other conditions upon which dialogue is contingent add invaluable dimensions to the concept of "meaning." Various philosophical interpretations of life's meaning and human existence have been presented.

Biblical Humanis, as well as other conceptual alternatives to Western values--Jewish and non_Jewish--have been offered.

The "unity of human life" has been extended within the trialogical construct of Ruah'adama'muda The inextricable interrelatedness between Spirit, Man and Nature, constituting the construct's elements, would seem to provide the only basis for the unity of human life. Man cannot physically exist, nor can he extend himself into the future without a spiritual dimension. This distinguishes him very sharply from the animal as stressed by Freire, Buber, Cassirer, M. Kaplan and Terry. On the other hand, the Jewish concept of man's partnership with God in creating cosmos out of chaos, also makes him a partner with nature. This view is supported by Freire's contention that through acts of creation and re-creation, man makes cultural reality and thereby adds to the natural world, which he did not make.

However, these acts of creation and their products, leading to possession, should not "constitute an obstacle to others having," as Freire points out. H. Smith, too,

stresses that in Judaism the creative work is the fulfillment of his ethos. It is in creating, not in possessing, that man finds his truest happiness.

Thus Buber's perception of the act of dialogue as the "relation between giving and receiving"--can constitute the foundation of human existence.

This human existence, which is historical, is expressed by language, a uniquely human attribute. This attribute enables man to dialogue with his fellow. It is the spiritual vestibule through which man enters into physical contact with another human being. It is also the uniquely human instrument that records memory, as well as expressing aspirations for the future.

The interrelatedness in human relationships expressed and acted upon through dialogical language also commits man to the sanctity of human life and mutual respect for the individual, as reflected in the ancient Mishna and in modern Personology. However, dialogue cannot be activated without Faith, Humility, Trust, Hope and Love. Faith as "ultimate concern" and Love as "responsibility of an I for a Thou" are indicative of social consciousness that is necessary for the existence of dialogue and its realization.

If this social consciousness, in which man dialogues with both spirit and nature--thus enabling him to

dialogue with his fellowman--can be integrated into a reconstructed Brith (Contract) between the modern Israeli and his Jewish past, then perhaps he will be able to begin to solve the problems of the sociocultural gap.

Proposals for the practical implementation of the Vision of Dialogue will be presented in the following chapter. Educational methods such as Freire's "generative theme," Alschuler's "social literacy" approach and Nyerer's "Ujama" (Self-reliance) methodology, as well as other dialogical methods can constitute the educational means to achieve these ends. Reconstructed Jewish values, reflected by meaningful symbols and incorporated into a new, original strategy called "Regenerative Return" are common to both the Ashkenazee and Mizrahee parts of Israel's population. Hopefully, they will serve as the basis for a solution of the sociocultural gap in Israel. Perhaps they will also constitute the foundation of a new Jerish humanistic society envisioned by Israel's ancient prophets and by her modern, idealistic founding pioneers.

CHAPTER V

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE: PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

In order to realize the Vision of Dialogue, it must be implemented. The main instrument of implementation is to be an Institute for Dialogical Education. The Institute's curricula will be designed to evaluate objectified Israeli values in the light of Jewish traditional values, and to reconstruct them in the spirit of dialogical philosophy and education.

One of the ways in which to effect value renewal is to revive Jewish symbols that can be meaningful in modern society. Inasmuch as there have been Israeli experiments in this direction, these innovations shall be examined and perhaps improved.

The practical implementation of these values and symbols will be drawn from various educational strategies including a newly-developed one, conceived in this study.

Institute for Dialogical Education

The Institute for Dialogical Education will be set up with the creation of a cadre of educators well versed in dialogical philosophy and education.

Ideally, if funds were available, the Institute would be set up independent of existing institutions so

as not to be dictated or co-opted by them. This would facilitate the development of the process of praxis which would eventually develop into a living model.

Once this is achieved, the Institute will attempt to dialogue with the Israeli educational establishment to effect change on two levels: theory and practice. The theory will be carried out on an interdisciplinary plane - in conjunction with institutions of higher education. This would encompass such subjects as education, Judaism, anthropology and sociology. Simultaneously, similar courses will be introduced into teachers' seminaries.

However, if human subjectification is to take place, the Institute for Dialogical Education must not limit itself to academic theory alone. Theoretical aspects must be adapted to adult education, community centers, youth movements, government administration, the armed forces, the arts, religious agencies and actually any organizational unit within modern society which deals with human intercourse. Thus dialogical educational theory is to be introduced into non-formal, as well as formal frameworks.

In addition to its theoretical aspects, the Institute will apply dialogical theory through practice - i.e., through the application of practical methodologies and strategies to effect praxis. The strategies presented in

this chapter constitute examples of the possible means with which to implement dialogical theory. These strategies are: Nyerere's "Ujama" - "Self-reliance;" a modified version of HIPPY, the Israel project for pre-schoolers; Freire's "generative theme;" the concept of reconstructed "community", as envisioned by Malkin, Alperovitz, Buber, Schweid and by the author of this study; TORI - an example of "encounter" methodology; Alschuler's "Social Literacy" method; and the "target practice game" - "Regenerative Return", conceived and developed for this study.

It is important to note that most of these strategies are eminently suited for most of the previously mentioned non-formal educational networks.

Institute's content: reconstruction of Jewish values in Israel. The curricula at the Institute for Dialogical Education will be set up to examine modern life in Israel and elsewhere in the light of Jewish values. Objectification in Israel begins with the Biblical concept of "Kibbutz Galuyot" - the "Ingathering of the Exiles." Five other terms or concepts have developed in Israel as corrollaries of this basic messianic ideal. They are: 1. Absorption; 2. The Generation of the Desert; 3. Those in Need of Fostering; 4. The Integration of Exiles and 5. The Second Israel. These terms and concepts,

implemented in practical life, reflect the distortion of classical Jewish values and the consequent objectification of Israeli society. Therefore they should be the first content to be re-evaluated at the Institute.

"Ingathering of the exiles." Kibbutz Galuyot speaks for itself. Many oleem, from both the East and the West, but especially from the Oriental countries, were drawn to come to Israel because they perceived their coming as part of the realization of a two-millenial dream. They believed this dream would concretize itself in the form of a new and just society. Instead of finding the realization of this yearning, the immigrants found Absorption bureaucrats. These Jewish Agency and Government officials welcomed them and dictated to them their place of abode. Almost immediately, at the transit camps, the Oriental Jews received, at best, paternalistic treatment. There and at language workshops, the Ulpanim, their dress, manners and speech were all but ridiculed. Being in the Naive Stage, Israeli policy-makers invested paternalism into the concept of absorption. Their operative officials were educated to believe that they were actually helping their "primitive" brothers and sisters by transforming them into Westerners, virtually overnight. The Institute, therefore, must change both the term and the content into a humanistic process of "caring". The officials must

escort individuals or groups of families for many months until they have become physically absorbed. Culturally, new immigrants should be made to feel that they have brought a significant contribution to their ancient land. They should see their own unique ethnicity as part of a vast mosaic, forming the foundation for a new Jewish culture in Israel. Only after this has been done will the original meaning of brotherly "Ingathering" be restored, as well as the Oleh's humanity.

Absorption. In Absorption Centers, Freirian "Cultural Circles" (discussed in section on "strategies") should be organized. The facilitator of such a group should preferably be a relatively new Oleh who has been successfully absorbed. The new immigrants should be exposed to a dialogical atmosphere immediately upon arrival. Therefore such a group is indispensable as a tool of absorption. The facilitator should generate discussion about the background of each Oleh, his or her expectations about Israeli society, and personal plans for integration. Common Jewish history in the Diaspora - negative and positive events - almost inevitably crop up in such situations. The facilitator should reinforce this dimension in preparing Oleem for integration, in general, and for discussions on economic and sociocultural gaps in particular. In this way, receiving a true if not always attractive picture of current

Israeli reality, the Oleem themselves can become potential agents of transforming this reality. Thus, their initial impression of absorption would be one of challenge, not one of illusion-leading-to-disappointment as is usually the case today.

It goes without saying that such "cultural circles" can be further extended to conduct meetings between the new Oleem and students on all levels of formal and non-formal education.

"Generation of the Desert" - saved by adult education. The third concept, "The Generation of the Desert", referred to working fathers and housewife mothers who arrived in Israel between 1948 and 1952. Since the vast majority were Mizraheem with large families, the Israeli establishment naively believed that with the limited resources at their disposal at the time, and in line with their "melting-pot" policy, it would be more effective to invest all the available means in the children, at the expense of neglecting the parents.

The immediate result became patently clear. The lack of dialogue between children, exposed to an achievement-oriented society at school and in the community on the one hand, and their parents, who continued to live in an amorphous, slow-moving world of tradition, on the

other, created a serious generation gap. The parents' values were almost totally rejected -- if not the parents themselves. Thus, these aging adults, who had generally come to Israel with Messianic expectations, sank into fatalistic depression.

Fortunately, after about thirty years of neglect, the Ministry of Education "returned" to them (in the sense of "repent," as well as physical and spiritual contact) to rehabilitate them as full-fledged participating citizens. Under the creative direction of its new Director, Avraham Tsivion, the Department of Adult Education developed an adult-literacy program in 1977 called Tehila. This program is geared exclusively to mothers, usually of middle-age, meeting once or twice a week in a formalized school situation.

The students are sorted out into four literacy levels, according to the results of entrance examinations. The curriculum is structured as is the timetable of instruction. Describing the content of Tehila, its "spiritual mother," Rahel Tokatli, writes:

> . . . our students . . . work hard at such basics as learning how to be comfortable holding a pencil . . . discovering the linear nature of the written page. When they master the table of letter combinations, it is truly an exciting occasion for them.
>
> On the second level, reading and writing skills are improved . . . students encounter

> for the first time concepts from different areas of study . . . and . . . improve their understanding of the encompassing physical and social world . . .
>
> On the fourth level . . . the students begin to learn formal subject-matter.[1]

Tokatli notes that the writers of the curricula, special instructors and facilitators train the teachers and administrators of Tehila within the Department of Adult Education. She stresses that "much creative work is accomplished by the teams of local teachers under the supervision of the Department's staff."[2]

It should be evident that although the Department has made a crucial breakthrough in reaching out to this neglected "Generation of the Desert," much is to be desired in the way of dialogical methodology. Her stress on "the linear nature of the written page" learning in a "formalized school situation," in four different levels all point to the basic retention of prescriptive education.

On the other hand, this breakthrough has produced a significant affective dimension in the mothers' learning process. Describing their joy of achievement, Tokatli writes,

> They sing and they weep in joy mixed with sadness: joy because of their great achievement, their newly gained skills, their freedom from the chains of ignorance . . . Sorrow - for the years lost.[3]

Enumerating Tehila's achievements, Dr. Tokatli states

that the women have acquired

> positive studying and reading habits; better understanding of the surrounding world . . . meaningful use of communication media; . . . freedom from the bonds of ignorance and from the dependence on others in everything concerned with reading and writing; subjective feeling of security and pride; esteem by . . . the family and community . . .
>
> Some of these dimensions are difficult to quantify. Therefore, it is hard to estimate them relatively to failures . . . such as a certain rate of absenteeism, all-too-slow progress at times . . . difficulty in some places in recruiting . . . students.[4]

There is no doubt that within the space of four years, the Department of Adult Education has greatly compensated this lost generation for thirty years of neglect. However, even within the context of this reflective summary of achievements and some shortcomings, the characteristics of a basically achievement-oriented education stand out boldly. The pride in having them learn the use of "communication media," the "freedom from dependence on others"vis a vis reading and writing reflect an almost unconscious purpose to co-opt and adapt these mothers to a technological, acquisitive society. The good intentions belong to Freire's Naive Stage of consciousness. What about personal communication, i.e., dialogue? What about an informal atmosphere in seating these middle-aged adults, instead of row after row as in primary school? Not only contemporary Mizrahee synagogues today but Jewish schools

centuries ago organized their seating in semi-circles.

The "freedom from . . . dependence on others," limited only to reading and writing can be expanded to include Freire's practice of freedom, praxis. Education, translated into action, liberates. A literacy program, as Freire says, can only be valid, "in which men understand words in their true significance; as a force to transform the world."[5]

An example of this premise, practically applied, is the use of "generative words." (see Freire's "Generative Theme," Cultural Circles, et al in section on Strategies in this chapter.)

This would be the third meeting of the group. The preceding two sessions would be devoted to preparation for literacy learning -- motivating the group to begin this program which they would then perceive as the key to written communication.

A class of Tehila would be organized as a Cultural Circle. The participants would discuss culture as a systematic acquisition of knowledge, and the democratization of culture within a democratic society.

Freire recommended that 17 generative words be learned per session. Transposed to the Israeli Tehila course, only 3 such words will be presented here as examples. The first word will be Shechuna (neighbourhood)

because the Israeli government has recently initiated a project called Shikum Shechunot (Rehabilitation of Neighbourhoods) purported to reflect the vocalized needs of slum and/or near slum inhabitants but actually needs are prescribed indirectly by the government, municipal authorities, the Jewish Agency and other hierarchies.[6]

1) Neighbourhood (shechuna)

   Housing

   Food

   Clothing

   Health

   Education

After analyzing the reality (a photo showing a Shehuna from various aspects) in which group discusses housing, food, etc. in the "neighbourhood," which is seen as a problem by the group, the coordinator presents the word SHUHUNAH visually with its semantic links:

a. First a slide showing only the word:
   SHEHUNA

b. Another slide appears, breaking down the word into syllables: SHE HU NA

c. phoemic family of word:
   SHE - SHI - SHA - SHU

d. next slide: HU - HI - HO - HA

e. then: NA - NE - NI - NO - NU

f. Now - 3 families together:

SHE - SHI - SHO - SHA - SHU

HU - HI - HO - HA

NA - NI - NO - NE - NU

Discovery Card

The group then begins to create words with the various combinations:

2) RAIN (Geshem)

- influence of environment on human life and converse
- concept of "rain in time" from Bible. Can man's behaviour influence natural phenomena, such as "rain in time"?
- leaking roofs on houses in neighbourhood, and ways to fix them. Should neighbours individually repair them? Should neighbours organize into construction co-ops to be ready for just such eventualities? Why?

3) WORK (avoda, amal)

for discussion:

- manual, intellectual and technological work
- dichotomy between manual and intellectual labour
- transforming reality

- intrinsic value of work
- man's value through work
- Jewish outlook on labour[4c]

This, therefore, is the third task for a potential group of dialogical teachers and facilitators: to attempt to introduce the dialogical methods of Freire and other educators mentioned in this chapter's section on "strategies," into the field of adult education. A truly liberating education will then not only make them aware of the world surrounding them but will provide them with the tools to help transform it.

"In need of fostering." The fourth area of dialogical endeavour concerns the term, "Teonnei Tipuach" -- In Need of Fostering. The Israeli educational establishment believed that this term implied less sorting and paternalism than the Western one called "Culturally Deprived." In essence both are the same. If a child needs fostering in studies, he is deficient in some area. The area is usually of the dominant culture, therefore he is "culturally deprived."

This question has been discussed in the first chapter of this study. The reasons the policy of "over-fostering" or actually "inverse discrimination" in the field of education failed have already been enumerated but

should be reiterated here. Orientals are slow learners due to their morphological-consciousness background. Their inability -- when and if it occurs -- to think abstractly does not demonstrate inferiority but a different way of thinking. Methods should be developed to involve them in learning processes appropriate to their ways and pace of learning. Freire's "generative theme" is one method, and others must also be demonstrated. However, before implementing specific strategies, the Israeli national consciousness must be changed. Both the Ashkenazeem and the Mizraheem must understand how and why they are oppressed, and how they can together liberate themselves. Co-evaluation of a term like "In Need of Fostering" at different educational and public levels will not only assist in solving the specific problem itself (i.e., choosing new content and a new term for integrating Mizrahee children into Israeli culture) but might as well transform national consciousness.

The "other Israel" and two-way integration. This approach and these processes also hold true for the two remaining terms--the Integration of Exiles and The Second Israel. With regard to the latter, when all Israelis have become conscious that all of the nation's groups are "different" and not "superior" or "inferior", the first

important step towards Critical Consciousness will have been taken. Then it will not be difficult to transform "The Second Israel" into "The Other Israel," implying equality and respect. The operative way to achieve this is through genuine integration. The present concept means to integrate all new immigrants,--in fact all Israelis--into a monistic, Western society. Such a nation will be poor culturally and dependent economically and politically.

If integration takes place in the spirit of the following findings, there are good possibilities that a rebuilt, integrative Jewish nation can arise. Ben-Ami Weiner and Yehuda Marcus of the Hebrew University's School of Social Work conducted a research project on "The Purposeful Management of Intergroup Relations." They write:

> Despite . . . widespread ideological conviction that the "exiles should be ingathered" and that the social integration should be enhanced among the various ethnic groups, it is surprising to learn how little work has actually been reported in the literature which sheds light either on process of integration, the operationalization of the dominant societal values, or the actual management of interethnic contacts.[7]

One example of their many recommendations in the spirit of Freire and Buber, follows:

> Conditions under which interpersonal contact will lower prejudice:
>
> 1. When authority and social climate are in favour of and promote intergroup contact,

2. when strength of expectations are adequate,
3. when there is a sense of equality between two subject groups (stress added),
4. when members of both groups . . . develop common or superordinate goals that are higher ranking in importance than the goals of each individual group.
5. contact . . . as a means of eliciting . . . change in attitudes or behaviours.[8]

These are living examples of areas of activity involving new immigrants, most of whom originate from Oriental societies. These areas need dialogical "intervention." The proposed Institute for Dialogical Education has a curriculum which has already been prepared in Israel by reality.

Together with re-interpreting contemporary Israeli values vis a vis traditional Jewish values, Jewish symbols must also be reconstructed.

Reconstructing Jewish symbols as part of curriculum re-interpreted: Jewish symbols must become part of the curriculum of the Institute. However, symbols in modern society have almost been buried under the heavy boots of conformity.

Symbols are not only a vestibule of values. They also aesthetically enhance human experience. Unfortunately, the great symbolic potential to the modern world is

imprisoned in ethnic museums such as American Indian Reservations and their commercialized appendages, and the Israeli Yemenite Folklore Theatre, "Inbal." Symbols are no longer a part of daily life for the mass of human society. Any attempt at reviving national symbols, such as the Afro hairdo in the U.S. or indigenous African dress (within Western countries) are looked on as temporary phenomena, "expressing feelings of liberation, equality, etc." Once the specific ethnic group finds its equality and its national place under the sun, they are co-opted into Western garb like assembly-line furniture. As Mary Douglas (1971) notes,

> One of the gravest problems of our day is the lack of commitment to common symbols . . . . But more mysterious is a widespread explicit rejection of rituals as such. Ritual becomes a bad word signifying empty conformity.[9]

However, Douglas stresses that this definition of "ritual" is relative. Students who do not challenge authority and only memorize "the given" are no less ritualists than a Zulu medicine man! In the animal world, she points out, "the function of animal ritual is communication" but "when this usage is transferred to human behaviour, ritual . . . becomes a despised form of communication."

Sociologically, she says,

> where regularities in the system are found, we should expect to find recurring, and always

> intelligible across cultures, the same natural system of symbols . . . . The quest for natural symbol becomes . . . the quest for natural systems of symbolizing.[10]

Not only is the quest for natural symbols a quest for communication but it also signifies the desire for commitment. The lack of both reflects modern man's alienation. Their dynamic existence reflects dialogical totality. Thus, symbols must become part of the curriculum at the Dialogical Institute. The following Jewish symbols provide examples of how traditional symbols can be re-interpreted and practically applied. The TSISIT (fringes) worn under clothes by observant Jews on weekdays, and on the Talit (prayer shawl) on the Sabbath and holidays could be turned into an aesthetic modern mode of dress. The Torah enjoins everyone to wear the Tsisit on the four corners of their garment "that they will not follow the temptations of their eyes." These fringes represent all of the 613 commandments of the Torah. Of course, anyone advocating freedom from constraints, would reject such symbolism. This source of tension, in a dialogical situation, would be creative, and possibly reconstruct new forms or new meanings or both.

In the short history of the third Jewish State, it has had almost daily meetings of one form or another with different international organizations. In the early

years, when Golda Meir was Foreign Minister, she agreed (apparently due to her socialist background) to appear at a U.N. meeting on the eve of Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), the holiest day of the Jewish calendar. Christian, Moslem, Buddhist and other holidays are respected in the U.N. and other international bodies, except in time of international crisis or actual war. In such bodies, especially UNESCO, purporting to advocate cultural pluralism, there is no reason why Israeli delegations should not defend their cultural uniqueness, especially when they are value-laden.

There is another side of the coin: the rejection and substitution of the same symbols. It was universally agreed, until recently, that there were no Jewish alcoholics. Since the Jew had ritual wine or alcohol on Friday night, Saturday noon and Saturday night, the average of 5-10 cups within 24 hours sufficed him from one week to the next. In Israel, on the other hand, since it is "chic" to be "like all the nations" it is unheard of that any self-respecting, non-religious member of middle-class society should be without a bar at home, offering drinks to all comers, and enjoying a daily nightcap. Thus, the sober ritual wine was replaced by "drinks," and the symbol was made to conform.

Ironically, the members of this middle-class, made

up almost exclusively of Ashkenazeem, conveniently (perhaps unconsciously) forget about their own drinking and condemn the "lazy, welfare-guzzling Oriental for drinking Arak" (a type of Mid-Eastern vodka) "and beating his wife . . . "[11]

In only one area, the observance of Passover, and within only a segment of the population, the Kibbutz movements, has conscious reconstruction of Jewish values begun. The Passover Seder, the festive meal commemorating the Hebrew exodus from Egypt, has been reinterpreted and embellished to the point where a Kibbutz Seder is an annual event which Israelis, as well as tourists vie to attend. The traditional narrative has been modified and enriched with modern Hebrew and Israeli poetry and music. Interpretive dancing and pantomime are injected into the narrative. Everyone present--sometimes hundreds of kibbutz members and guests--all participate in the narration.

Interestingly enough, the left-wing Kibbutz-Artzi, a Marxist-oriented movement, deleted the name of God from their Narrative many years ago, believing that God and religion were the opieates of the people. However, in recent years, God has been "reinstated" in the Passover Narrative. Although "rationalized" and interpreted as good poetry, god continues to live in the Passover pages of the Hagadda Narrative.

Examples of symbols, or the lack of them, are interminable. Hopefully what has been mentioned here should provide some idea of the untapped potential. Critical consciousness in this area could produce creative reconstruction which would enhance the lives of all Israelis.[12]

Prospects For Implementation

The implementation of this Vision of Dialogue is to occur through various strategies for change. The vision will supplement these strategies with successfully-operational examples in Jewish history, such as the Havurah, Hugei Bayit, the Kibbutz in Israel itself as well as other examples such as Ujama in Tanzania and the Social Literacy Project developed in Springfield, Massachusetts.

In order to reinforce feelings of faith in and hope for the realization of the vision, already-extant potential, factors in Israel will be stressed and used. In order to realistically assess the prospects for implementation, potential obstacles will be identified, together with possible ways of resolving and/or eliminating them.

To sort out potential obstacles from positive factors, awareness must be developed with regard to the prospects for implementation. These prospects are contingent on the historical environment at the time of attempted implementation, and especially on the personalities of the

implementers, on the degree to which they are willing to sacrifice status, jobs, personal security, family stability, etc. in order to realize the Vision.

Educational Strategies for Change

When proposing strategies for change, we must be aware that the human condition does not easily lend itself to change. On the contrary, men and women resist change. Eric Hoffer (1963) writes that "It needs inordinate self-confidence to face . . . change without inner trembling."[13] Yet, these very strategies--all based on critical consciousness--include elements making for "change" consciousness. Thus, the process involved might very well generate a conscious need for change while also critically stimulating dialogue.

In the spirit of the classic Jewish approach to, and application of "learning" which has been based on the Mishnaic dictum: "Who is wise" He who learns from all men;" the strategies to be proposed here will be drawn from a number of conceptual frameworks inspired by modern dialogical theory. Most of them have been tested in the field with appreciably good results. However, since these strategies are to be applied within the context of Israeli educational reality, they will be reinterpreted and

transformed through the vessels of traditional Jewish values in Israel itself, whenever and wherever possible. This will be done in keeping with the hypothesis of this proposal -- namely, that by emulating Western values and rejecting her own Jewish heritage, Israel has strayed from its historical vocation of educating through "learning" and "dialogue." This has been one of the major causes of the sociocultural gap between Occidental and Oriental Jews in Israel. It is hoped that these strategies for change will strengthen Jewish identity and close the gap.

UJAMA - "self-reliance." When discussing strategies, it is important to examine educational approaches originating in "developing countries." Such examination might well enhance the comprehension of the various strategies and their practical application. In the spirit of "learning from all men," J. Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" will be referred to-similar points, situations and possibilities in Israel.

Discussing the Tanzanian educational system, Nyerere states that ". . . we have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of independence."[14] This statement is very relevant to Israeli education, especially with regard to the

sociocultural gap. Even though Israeli educators began to seriously question the predominance of uniformity and monolithic values as rationale for equality[15] as early as 1963, no serious government action was taken until spurred by Black Panther rioting in the early '70s.

Nyerere's list of actions taken since his country's independence might show Israel the way. He lists three main achievements: 1. integration; 2. expanded educational facilities; 3. education made more Tanzanian in content.[16]

In Israel, racial integration had never posed a problem, as Tanzania's colonial inheritance had. On the other hand, within the context of integrating Oriental and Occidental Jews, a naive attempt to integrate the two groups had been made. Indeed, in the late sixties a more conscious effort was made, vis a vis the Reforma (the creation of integrated Junior High classes--in effect, Israeli "bussing." However, as has been noted earlier, these attempts have produced few positive results due to the one-way policy of integrating Oriental Jews into the dominant culture.

With regard to "expanded educational facilities," Israel, upon its establishment, set up a network of elementary schools for free, compulsory education. The

Ministry of Education also added "long learning days", i.e., added hours of instruction, in schools with large populations of "disadvantaged" pupils. Even though these additions were more quantitative rather than qualitative, such a framework might well be the envy of many more developed countries.

Nyerere's third achievement--the Tanzanianization of education--was not directly paralleled by Israel, although it was indirectly to a certain extent. This came about by dividing free, compulsory education into two sectors: secular and religious, catering to 60% and 40% of the population respectively. If Jewish values are synonymous with Jewish religious education on the one hand, and Jewish values are synonymous with Israeli secular ones, on the other, it could be said that 60% of Israeli education had become "Israeli-Jewish" in content whereas 40% was only religiously Jewish.

Nyerere stresses that ". . . education, whether it be formal or informal, has a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare young people for their future . . . active participation in its maintenance or development." (Stress added.)[17] In Israel's secular sector the stress has been on the wisdom and knowledge of its western-oriented society, less

on its accumulated Jewish wisdom. The religious sector, on the other hand, has put more emphasis on the accumulated wisdom and on the maintenance of this accumulation.

Nyerere points out that "Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals . . . We want to create a socialist society . . . based on three principles: equality; sharing of the resources . . . produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none . . . "[18]

The socialist society envisioned by the dominant (until May, 1977) Israel Labour Party was based on the same three principles. However, equality was quickly eroded by the creation of a growing class and party bureaucracy which became "more equal" than the masses they were supposed to serve. "Sharing of resources" suffered the same fate for the same reasons (even though the Histadrut (Israeli Labour Federation) members formally had shares and controlled votes in holding companies, consumer coops, etc.) The third principle (the most sacro-sanct in Kibutzeem and Moshaveem) succumbed to individualistic and achievement-oriented pressures. On the Kibbutz, theoretically, all members engaged in physical labour. However, practically, members working as

Secretary - Generals, Treasurers and other functionaries (such as Knesset Members) soon found themselves outside the "working" circle. So, too, did those who entered education, health and other services, as well as the arts. This, in time, necessitated their replacement by "working hands" that usually emanated from a large supply of unskilled and unemployed Oriental Jews. This was also true of Moshaveem, although for different reasons. The mechanization of agriculture paradoxically produced the need for more labour due to its extensivation.

Nyere describes a similar trend in Tanzania.

> . . . the moment such a man extends his farm to the point where it is necessary for him to employ labourers in order to plant or harvest the full acreage, then the traditional system of Ujama has been killed. For he is not sharing with other people according to the work they do, but simply paying them in accordance with a laid-down minimum wage . . . the result is that the spirit of equality . . . has gone - for the employees are the servants of the man who employs them. Thus we have the beginnings of a class system in the rural areas.[19]

In Israel, in both cases (the Kibbutz and the Moshav) the principle of "self-labour" as opposed to "hired-labour" (as constituting exploitation of others) suffered erosion after Ben-Gurion's "sacreligious" request in the early 1950s. He asked the backbone of the Labour Movement to "absorb" new <u>oleem</u> (immigrants) as hired workers even at

the cost of compromising what was, until then, a very sanctified socialist principle. The pragmatism of the Israel Labour Party could not stem the tide from the dykes it had broken in the 50s. Thus, after 1967, Arab labourers from the "territories" inundated Moshaveem, Kibbutzeem, and of course, private enterprises in the towns and cities. Ben-Gurion's "absorption" request had come full circle.

In the spirit of the three principles of socialism described above, Nyerere states that education

> must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and . . . confidence . . . as a free and equal member of society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. (stress added)[20]

The intrinsic worth of a person (as opposed to achievement-oriented worth) calls to mind the positions of Freire, Buber, Kaplan, and Heschel almost word for word. This humanistic approach must be reflected in educational purpose.

The Tanzanian leader elaborates on this aspect of education when stipulating the basic assumptions of traditional Ujama living. The first is "love" and/or "respect"--a recognition of mutual involvement in one another as was expressed in traditional family living."[21] This

assumption or "principle of life", as Nyerere calls it, was also the cornerstone of the approaches of Freire, Buber and Meyeroff, as presented in detail in Chapter IV. Of course, Jewish values such as "Love your neighbour as yourself" only strengthen such a "principle", and should constitute the basis for Israeli values. The second assumption that "all basic goods were held in common and shared by all members of the unit." This principle was true in Jewish life for centures--both in Oriental and Occidental families--until 20th century modernization. Nyerere's third principle, that "everyone had an obligation to work," has been an extricable part of Jewish values translated into daily deeds. In fact, work was always valued more than learning although it was always correlated to it. The Talmud states that "Artisans are not required to stand up from their labour when a Sage passes by." (Tractate Kiddushin 33a). "Rabbi Hannina ben-Dosa declared: He whose deeds are greater than his wisdom - his wisdom stands . . ." (Avot 3; 12). In Israel, the historical irony of the "socialist" settlers was reflected in their rejection of Jewish work values while attempting to transform the European Jewish "Luftmensche" into a productive non-exploiting labourer. (cf. Chapter Three, Jewish Values)

Nyerere offers an educational solution for his country that had been tried early in modern Israel's history. He declares that education has to prepare youth to play a constructive part in the development of society, "in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned." He goes on to emphasize that "in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance . . . such arrogance has no place in a society of equal citizens."[22] As a result of such arrogance, Nyerere stresses, "the salary and the status have become a right automatically conferred by the degree."[23]

This state of affairs predominates in Tanzania, he notes, because

> Everything we do stresses book learning, and underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all.[24]

Shimon ben-Gamliel declared in ancient Israel, "Theory is not the main thing but doing!" (Avot, 1:17) Nyerere, too, stresses today that in order to transform youth into intelligent and active members of the community, they should be given the advantages of "learning by doing." Declaring that the present examination system

impedes the realization of this aim, Nyerere states that

> There is no reason why Tanzania should not combine an examination which is based on the things we teach, with a teacher and pupil assessment of work done for the school and community. This would be a more appropriate method of selecting entrants for secondary schools and for university, teacher training colleges, and so on, than the present purely academic procedure.[25]

What Nyerere describes here, has, to some extent, existed in Israel for decades. Youth Aliya (immigration) villages, modelled on Kibbutz living, trained their pupils to work in agriculture after school hours. However, there was no organic correlation between work and what was learned during class hours. Another difference was that children had no need to build any part of the village. All the facilities were "givens." Thus the Youth Aliyah Village has become only a training ground for possible future Kibbutz living. It has not developed resources of the country, nor has it developed community consciousness.

On the other hand, Nyerere points out that the fact that

> pre-colonial Africa had no "schools"--did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing . . . . In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behaviour expected of its members . . . . Education was thus 'informal'; every adult was a teacher . . . . Indeed the (lack of formality) may have made the education more relevant to the society in which the child was growing up.[26]

Almost paraphrasing Nyerere, Goitein describes Jewish education in Yemen:

> . . . we cannot deny that this type of education also had many virtues--which our modern education either lacks completely or does not possess in the same degree. There was a perfect partnership in thought and action between the parental home, the school and adult society. The place and value of learning in life were obvious to the boy from his first day at school. There was a connection between the work at school and the sphere of work in the world outside. Theoretical instruction was always accompanied by practical application.[27]

Evaluating Jewish education in Yemen at the height of the Aliyah and absorption of Yemenite Jews into Israel in 1953, Prof. Goitein is quick to temper his enthusiasm. "This type of education," he stresses, "cannot be continued in Israel."

> It was a system . . . based on a certain type of society from which it could not be divorced. Once the society disintegrated. the system of education would no longer exist.
>
> This is not a matter for regret. Yemenite Jewry was . . . in a state of decline. The termination of this diaspora meant not only a salvation of the body but also the redemption of the soul. It is true that the clash with the reality of Israel . . . has caused countless tragedies among the families of the immigrants. This has been part of a difficult but vitally necessary operation.
>
> In spite of this, it seems to me that the Yemenite immigrants gave up the education of their children far too soon and handed them over all too easily to the various forces which tried to bring them under their sway. This . . . reflects the fatalistic attitude regarding

> the possibilities of education. . . . it would have been possible to transplant some healthy . . . branches of Yemenite educational activities into the new life in Israel.[28]

Although clearly ambivalating between subjective admiration for traditional integrative education and the prevalent contemporary attitude in Israel on modernization, Goitein nevertheless concludes that the Israeli educational establishment can learn something from Oriental educational practices.

Inasmuch as this proposal was not carried out thirty years ago, it is the intention of this study to attempt to apply it within the context of "Community" to be discussed in this chapter. Almost identical observation by Nyerere and Goitein in widely separated realities stresses the validity of the need to reconstruct such methods in modern life.

Analyzing traditional Africa and setting forth the aims of transculturation, Nyerere notes that

> . . . In traditional Africa the people were equal, they cooperated together, and they participated in all the decisions which affected their lives . . . the government was only the government of their own family unit, and of their clan, or at most their tribe. Our task . . . is to modernize the traditional structure so as to make it meet our new aspirations for a higher standard of living.[29]

In Israel, since the aim was to reject and bypass tradition in the rush for a higher standard of living very

often financed and subsidized by external factors, the process must, to a certain extent, be reversed. It is, of course, almost unthinkable to "turn the clock back." But something in this spirit must be done if Israel is to recapture, in Buber's words, "its vocation of community."

Whereas Buber conceived of "community" in the broadest moral sense of sharing and dialogue, Nyerere conceives of "community" in a very practical social sense. He believes that education should be related to tasks to be carried out in Tanzanian society. His concept of community is directly linked to his concept of education. "Schools must, in fact, become communities," he declares,

> and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit.[30]

In this way, Nyerere attempts by implication to pre-empt a generation gap and a denigration of parents and tradition by children during the learning process. However, Nyerere does not provide a solution to bridge the gap between what apparently is a modernizing school and a traditional school.

Pre-school instruction by mothers. HIPPY, the Israel project for pre-schoolers, might well constitute this bridge if certain conditions are met. This project,

sponsored by the Hebrew University's School of Education, advocates early childhood skills-intervention. The stress in HIPPY (Home Instruction Program for Pre-school Youngsters) is on the simultaneous education and training of mothers and pre-school children in the acquisition of the basic "three R's".

As described by Davis and Kugelmas (1974), HIPPY is "an attempt to improve the intellectual performance of disadvantaged children through a highly structured, sequential program of instruction." The program, they stress, was applied under two conditions:

> in the first, mothers administered the material to children in the home under the guidance of non-professional aides; and in the second, professional teachers administered the material in a nursery classroom. It was hypothesized that children taught in the home would do significantly better on academic tasks and would maintain their advantage over a long period. One of the underlying assumptions for the formulation of this hypothesis was that by working together with her child the mother is involved in the creation of a supportive environment which reinforces the child's achievements. (Lombard, 1968)[31]

The authors of this Interim Evaluation of the Project stipulate that

> one could hypothesize that as a result of a year or two of a new, close interaction with her child the 'I' mother's communication pattern might become more accepting or that her aspirations for the child's future education would be raised.[32]

After one control group, the 'I' children and their

mothers, who had received home instruction for two years, (initiated when the child was 3.5-4.5 years old) had been exposed to the program, only 20% of the mothers reported that they had been teaching the HIPPY materials. Attempting to understand these results, the authors suggested two possibilities as explanations:

> one, that the mothers were not fulfilling the project requirement; the other, that many of the project mothers may not have internalized the program's existence to the extent that they saw it as a routine and central part of their regular activities.[33]

In both cases, the authors did not ask "why?" Why didn't the mothers (27% of whom had no education and 23% of whom had 3 years of schooling; 85% of whom were Oriental Jews) fulfill the project requirement? Why didn't they internalize the program's existence? These questions were posed orally to the project's initiator, Dr. Avima Lombard, in 1976 by the Jerusalem ethnologist, Rachel Golandsky. When Lombard could not offer any reason, Golandsky suggested that the project's materials and relevancy were Western in content, and thus foreign to the Oriental mentality. Ms. Golandsky also maintained that the project's basic aim was to reach the intellect of the child and not his or her feelings which constituted the dominant factor in his or her behavioural and thinking processes. The mothers, she suggested, might well have blocked out the

program's internalization due to these facts. Dr. Lombard accepted this as a possibility, and invited a revised curriculum of material content from the ethnologist.

This would seem indispensable as a factor for effecting transculturation in Israel as within Nyerere's plans for Ujama in education Freire's "investigation of the generative theme" could be an excellent instrument to bring about this transculturation process.

Freire's "generative theme." Freire stresses that in the post-literacy stage (Israel today), dialogical, problem-posing education should use this approach. In order to immediately begin the "humanization" or "subjectification" of the "people," he proposed that they and the facilitators act as co-investigators, critically examining the "people's" reality (to prevent the "people" from being considered objects of the investigation).[34]

Freire claims that such co-investigation can bear fruit since "Men . . . because they are conscious beings . . . overcome the situations which limit them."[35]

How do they overcome "limit-situations"? By dialoguing, by carrying on authentic education, by "A" working with "B", not "A" for "B" or "A" about "B." In order for "A" to co-investigate with "B," "he" must commit himself to "B" (love). He must recognize his own ignorance

and/or arrogance, as well as that of others (humility); he must believe in "B" as a person "even before he meets him face to face" (faith)[36]. This approach is very similar to dialogical polemics of the Talmud and other sources alluded to earlier in this chapter.

Freire stresses that once the liberating educator manifests all of these attributes, "he" looks to the learner's experience and encourages him to be active. He is a guide leading the oppressed learner back to himself. Whereas the banking-teacher tries to transform the alienated learner in his own image, the liberating educator works with him to transform the outside reality which is the origin of his alienation and oppression.

How is this "outside reality" transformed? In part, by the co-investigation team spending time in the local community, interviewing its inhabitants, keeping a log of interviews and comparing perceptions of team members with regard to what they have seen and heard. All of this results in a list of contradictions prevalent in the community, and facilitates the team's awareness of each contradiction.

In the Israeli context, an example of such a contradiction is housing. Why does an Oriental family with 6 children have two rooms and new immigrants from Russia with 2 children have three rooms?

In the second phase, the team transforms contradictions into codes, i.e., conducts coding. In the case of housing, in the Israeli context, a photo of a two-room Oriental home facing a modern, luxurious building of Western immigrants in which Russian, South American and Israeli-born Jews have 3-4 rooms with an average of two children, would be presented to the group. Since Freire advocates "regionality" together with "ambiguity," so as not to propagandize the participants, the neighbourhood would not be identified.

The third step, decoding, is a group process in which about 20 members are shown the picture codes, and are asked a sequence of increasingly critical questions about them. If members of the group can discern the contradictions, or are able to generate new ones through the decoding process, then the codes become functional and are used as part of the final materials.

Freire calls these decodification groups "cultural circles." They constitute the basic organizational unit of his method. In Israel, there exists a political custom similar to the Cultural Circles called "Hugei Bayit" (Home Clubs or Home Meetings). But this group framework (numbering about 20 people) has been used heuristically if not prescriptively, mainly for propaganda by political parties.

This same concept can be renewed by pouring "new wine into old bottles." The organizers of such groups --whether in an educational community or political context--have been using the term "dialogue," in a manner closer to Freire's "Banking concepts" than to "dialogue" as we have defined it here. This "old" vessel could henceforth be used to demonstrate the dialogical process in action--based not only on Freire and on Israel's own Buber, but even on traditional Jewish approaches that have been the key to national survival. One of these has been the Havurah (Comraderie) dating back to the days of the Mishnah when current issues were critically discussed.

The Cultural Circle exemplifies one of the most essential tenets of Freire's approach--the posing of open-ended problems related to the basic contradictions of life, rather than the provision of stereotype solutions to universally abstract problems.

The reinterpretation of the Israeli version of dialogue from one of "prescription" to one of "relational mutuality,"[37] the transformation of "magical," sterile grievances about inequality in housing into critical consciousness which leads to praxis, and the reinterpretation of existing concepts and practices in the field of co-operative living through dialogical co-investigation all

constitute the application of Freire's methodology to the Israeli educational and socio-cross-cultural reality. Inasmuch as most segments of the population, both Oriental and Occidental, are at Freire's "magical" or at best "naive" stages with respect to the "situations that limit them,"[38] the "generative-theme" approach can be used at a number of levels of consciousness, and in different areas of Israeli life; not only in the strictly formal educational framework of the school.[39] Areas in which such an approach can be applied are the Labour Movement in general and the Kibbutzeem--Moshaveem in particular. The problems that have arisen due to pragmatic utilitarianism have already been discussed. Freire's "generative-theme" and some of Nyerere's ideas can be used in attempts to resolve these problems.

Israel has been blessed with numerous institutions dealing with the human condition, both within and without the educational context. Many have been consciously planned, anchored in various ideologies. Others have mushroomed, created by necessity. In addition to the conventional three levels of formal schooling, (elementary secondary and university), extracurricular projects such as Youth Movements (sponsored by various political parties), Youth Centers and Community Centers (sponsored by municipalities and local authorities), Religious Clubs,

Labour Federation activities, et al, cater to youth and adults. Very few of these "institutions" are open-ended with regard to goals. Those that are, are usually not very effective.

In view of what has been said about the lack of organic correlation between learning and doing in the most communal and community-conscious frame works in Israel, Nyerere's ideas on community are illuminating. Also helpful are Yaakov Malkin's ideas of community as it was in the past, and as it could be in the future. Of interest too, are Gar Alperovitz's ideals.

Community reconstruction. Nyerere claims that educators must not lose sight of the economic dimension of the concept of community.

> . . . all schools must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have . . . a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the total national income . . . every school should be a farm; . . . the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers and pupils and farmers . . . But the farm would be an integral part of the school, and the welfare of pupils would depend on its output, just as the welfare of a farmer depends on the output of his land. (stress added)[40]

As if proposing a substitute method for awarding grades, Nyerere notes that if the young people will farm well,

"they can eat well and have better facilities in the dormitories, recreation rooms and so on. If they work badly, then they themselves will suffer."[41]

Nyerere's vision of a socio-educational community would seem to be more feasible in a developing country with a traditional setting than in a modern technological country. Nevertheless, even in the West such visions have been set forth.

Proposing such a "vision of community" in the U.S., Gar Alperovitz (1971) states that to realize it, "the tension between the socialist vision and decentralist alternatives is best understood not as an ultimate contradiction but as a transitional problem moving towards the post-industrial era."[42] Israel, if not yet a post-industrial society, is well on its way toward this stage of technological development. Institutions developing recently in the U.S. such as "community corporations," "neighbourhood corporations," collectively-owned cities based on communitarian ideals (similar to the Israeli Moshav) all aspire, according to Alperovitz, to "wrench control of housing and even urban renewal from public bureaucracy, and place ownership and control in the hands of community groups."[43] He also quotes Buber as depicting the nature of socialist communities as ". . . the organic

construction of a new society out of little societies inwardly bound together by common life and common work."[44] Buber has thus reiterated Nyerere's Ujama and Judaism's stress on labour and mutual responsibility.

The Israeli Community Theoretician and Organizer, Yaakov Malkin reinforces the concepts of community as set forth by Alperovitz and Buber by proposing a modern reconstruction of the ancient institution of the synagogue.

Malkin notes that after the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem in 700 B.C.E., the Judaean exiles did not reconstruct the Sanctuary in their new place of abode, Babylon. Instead of ritual they stressed learning, history and law as their relationship with God. The new institution, the synagogue, was developed by the community to include such functions as a House of Learning, a House of Prayer, a Free Loan Society, a school for children, a Burial Society, a Sick Fund, a framework for Tax Authorities and Registration of the Population, Civil and Religious Courts, self-defense units, a center for ceremonies and carnivals.[45]

"The social functions of the Temple," Malkin points out, "were taken over by the Synagogue and also by the Church:

> the weekly convening of the various families belonging to the community; the political-communal activity expressed through elections and appointments of religious and communal functionaries--all of these had precedents in the social and political life of the Temple . . . . After its destruction, the center of sociocultural life was rebuilt within each neighbourhood and community for the 'Judaean Exiles' in the framework of the Synagogue. This institution taught children and adults (alike) that their uniqueness and their personalities can be realized only within the community and its meaningful activities.[46]

Malkin points out that

> The Synagogue was the first and largest center for Adult Education in the West. The prayer and reading of the Torah, the special lessons organized for workers in the early evenings, libraries that grew alongside the Synagogue as far back as the Roman Empire's rule of the area, were only some of the factors deepening the learning process.[47]

On the other hand, he stresses, the disintegration of the Synagogue began when the functions of community and learning began to diminish, and it became a place devoted exclusively to the maintenance of ritual. Eventually all meaningful learning, both intrinsic and organic, was abandoned within the Synagogue's framework; e.g., instead of the system of the "industrial school" in which men and women were trained while working at their trades, the sterile framework of the "school" was invented - unconnected to a creative place or to the center of the community.

The arts and entertainment became independent

institutions which began to compete with religious institutions for influence.

As a result of this disintegration, Malkin notes, cultural activities began to be sold as commodities for consumption. Schools that had originally been labelled "revolutionary", having broken away from the religious framework, quickly became extreme in their conservatism albeit retaining their original revolutionary forms.

In the spirit of Nyerere and Alperovita, Malkin explains that with the breakdown of the Synagogue as a Community Center, the pupil has ceased to be conscious of the needs of society. The entertainment and T.V. industries have not been guided by artists and their supporters but by merchants and bankers or by centralized government officials. These industries have been catering more and more to the "audience" within the masses rather than to the community. Thus both the school and the entertainment industry have drawn persons further away from the community in which they live.

Turning to the development of the modern Community Center, Malkin traces its origin back to the adult education movement at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century. This attempt to revive some sort of community life began in Scandanavia with the establishment of the "Folks-Hochschule" or the meeting place of sport (the

Y.M.C.A. and Y.M.H.A. in the U.S.) or neighbourhood centers to care for the disadvantaged. The common-denominator of all these institutions was the attempt to establish and run centers for the "needy." The directors and workers came from elite levels of society, and believed that they knew the needs of the poor and the illiterate and that they could supply them. In this way they perpetuated the split between the "learning center" and the "community center" which began with the disintegration of the Synagogue. The process widened the social gap between the educated and the "needy." Thus the new Community Centers found themselves outside any educational, religious or entertaining framework. Instead of serving as social centers of life as in ancient times, they became the suppliers of specific services for the needy and the disadvantaged.[48]

As an alternative to the aforementioned attempts to revive the Community, Malkin offers what Freire would call "critical (community) consciousness" as the first phase for transforming contemporary reality. This consciousness would encourage human conversation in public places. Specifically, he suggests the re-creation of the "Community Plaza or Square" to constitute the framework of a sociocultural pluralism. This neighbourhood focus would help decentralize the effects of mass media on the

individual and transforming him or her from a passive (listening) object to an active, participating subject. He points out that

> Community consciousness involves the encouragement of social activities, the turning of complaints into independent operations that will indirectly bring about change in reality and as a result will cause change in education and administration. . . . Conversation between people is the basis for all social life and politics . . . . Participation in conversation in public places activates man's thoughts and feelings, changing him from a radio-T.V. passive listener to an active participant in social life. . . . The Community Plaza or Square will fulfill the functions of the Temple and community synagogues. It will include traditional synagogues in such a way that each group with its own prayer-tradition and ritual will be able to function alongside other groups, without separating religious life from the remainder of community activities.
> . . . From a cultural point of view we are in need--more than ever--of a Community Square because civilization and the technology of mass communications developed the monologue . . . while limiting possibilities and habits of dialogue and conversation (stress added).[49]

To promote dialogical creativity, decentralization is not only indispensable within the limited realm of telecommunications. It is especially indispensable in the societal-national sphere--whether within the context of American capitalism or Soviet communism. As Richard C. Edwards (1972) notes,

> . . . state-socialism obviously does not serve to promote the socialist values of egalitarian cooperation, participatory control, and individual freedom which we have held out as an important part of the

> socialist ideal. The tendency toward hierarchy and centralization reduces individual and social responsibility, thereby destroying the basis both for freedom and for a practice and ethic of voluntary cooperation.[50]

Can "freedom" and "a practice . . . of voluntary cooperation" really be effected by de-centralization? It would seem well nigh impossible since nature cannot tolerate a vacuum. Once a state-socialistic bureaucracy is de-centralized, new forms of centralization begin to coagulate, beginning with liberal reforms and ending with hard-core capitalistic monopolies and cartels. The latter phenomena produce, among other things, centralized broadcasting which turns the listener into a passive <u>object</u> instead of an active subject. To retain freedom, it is imperative to educate toward the practice of freedom. Therefore, although Malkin advocates the revival of the Community Plaza because it is conducive to dialogue and conversation, the Plaza itself will not suffice to achieve these ends. Nor will the decentralization of telecommunications alone encourage dialogue. Even if these two aims are realized; even if they bring about the "free encounter stimulating conversation", this freedom will enable contemporary Samuel Johnsons to garrulously dominate the 'stage' of the Plaza. The magical and naive oppressed will remain passive under the influence of the "speakers"

and the "orators."

Schweid points out that the term "community" appears in the Torah as "edah" (congregation), "kahal" (assembly), "hever-ha'ir" (members of the town)--the first structural unit unifying families into tribes and nations. The principle of the Brith, he explains, is a progressive one--an interpersonal Brith, an interfamilial one, between communities (edoth) and tribes, and in the future--nations.

The Jewish People became a nation contractually. Since the time of Abraham each male Jew goes through the Brith process: several days after birth, Contractual Circumcision; within his family, at the age of 13, Bar-Mitzvah, he takes on the burden of 613 Mitzvot (Commandments). This Brith-reinforced contract commits him not only to his family but also to his community and his nation. Schweid stresses the interdependence of Brith relationships on every plane but that this dependence expresses their free choice and is dependent on its permanence or renewal. In prophetic literature, the concept of Brith, Schweid points out,

> encompasses not only relations of family and community . . . of tribe and nation, but also of nations and of an all-cosmic attitude: "And I have contracted with them a Brith on that day with the beast of the field and with the birds of the heavens and the crawling creatures of the earth; and bow, sword and bow I shall eliminate from the land . . . (Hosea 2:20) . . . as personalities, members of the

> community are perceived as committed to save their weak compatriot, i.e., to make him conscious of his weakness--to abolish the cause of his weakness, and to bring him back to the community as an independent, functioning member of it.[51]

Schweid explains that the community is transformed by the Brith, into a holy community. Its common spiritual life commits it to educational aims of transmitting its heritage from generation to generation. The special educational institutions did not educate but rather the multi-faceted community, he stresses. "If the above conditions are met," Schweid concludes, "then the community is in essence an historical and social entity. It cannot exist with the noble elevation of education manifested through its way of life."[52]

Community's reconstruction--on home, pupil, school. The following three tables deal with the Israeli "educational gap" vis a vis the home, the school and the community. The first diagram, by Moshe Forte,[53] depicts his interpretation of the causes of the gap. Comparing it with Ronen's analysis in Chapter I, it is clear that Forte's approach reflects that of the establishment.

The second diagram, entitled "Ways to Narrow the Educational Gap," attempts to solve the problem in the spirit of this study. The trialogical triad of Home, Pupil and School is interconnected in a circular, dialogical

relationship with the Community.(3 tables on pages 367-369)

An indispensable method for narrowing the educational gap is "Critically-conscious Curriculum Evaluation." This strategy was devised for this study following the discovery of Freire's methodology. It should be carried out as follows:

1. The teacher should be the curriculum developer.

2. The teacher should be trained in evaluation processes--formative and summative, thus becoming an evaluator.

3. Students, from the seventh grade and upwards, should participate in curriculum development, together with the teacher, as well as in the evaluation process as described above.

4. Once goals, objectives, programs, etc. are set up by both teachers and students, they should present them to the Principal or the Director of Education in a given institution. Either or both of them should be trained in curriculum development and evaluation. They should consult with the Principal and/or Director as to the feasibility, desirability, etc. of the proposals.

5. Those who are today considered traditionally "curriculum developers" and "evaluation specialists" should be consulted as "advisors" to the Principal, on the one hand, and to the teacher-student team, on the

other. They should be well-versed in Freire's three stages of consciousness. With this knowledge and consciousness, they should continually be taking

first: the teacher-student team;

second: the Principal;

third: all three of them;

fourth: themselves;

fifth: themselves plus all of the above three. . . through all of Freire's stages, creating a perennial, formative evaluation process, using summative evaluation only as feedback at the end of a given time span--semester, year, four years--to modify or transform goals.

Thus, this mutual evaluation process within the school setting constitutes the vestibule leading to the triad of home-pupil-school, and back again. Together they form the dialogical base for the Model Community.

This "Self-renewing Model Community" is depicted in Table No. 5. Here an attempt is made to bring almost all the elements mentioned by Nyerere, Malkin and Schweid together. Thus the extended family of traditional society is transformed into a modern, dialogical community without losing its primal heritage, identity and cohesiveness.

In Israel today, aside from the Community Center (patterned after those in the U.S., and standing alone within the community at a given location,) the hub of

community life is the commercial center. Please note that in the diagram in Table No. 5 , commercial activity is relegated to the last rung of the circle. Thus the family constitutes the nucleus of the community, and its "extended family" dimensions radiate outward but always interacting with each other. This is the crucial difference between the Western-emulated fissionized community in which the individual is alienated, and the dialogical community of mutual reciprocity which attempts to rebuild the whole person. Indeed, persons are dependent on many communal facets but this dependence liberates and enriches the individual personality which is actualized through each of these facets.

"Encounter" methodology. Thus such strategies as Freire's "generative theme" and/or Encounter methods must be introduced to create conscious awareness of the present structural relationship between the school and the community, and the need for tools to transform it. Whereas Freire builds dialogical growth on stages of consciousness, contingent on such elements as trust, humility, love, et al, Encounter methods such as TORI (Trust-Openness-Realization-Interdependence) stress freedom and emergent growth. Explaining that "The group is a creative experience," Gibb & Gibb point out that "Groups create norms, structures, and forms, and in the process create freedoms

TABLE NO. 3

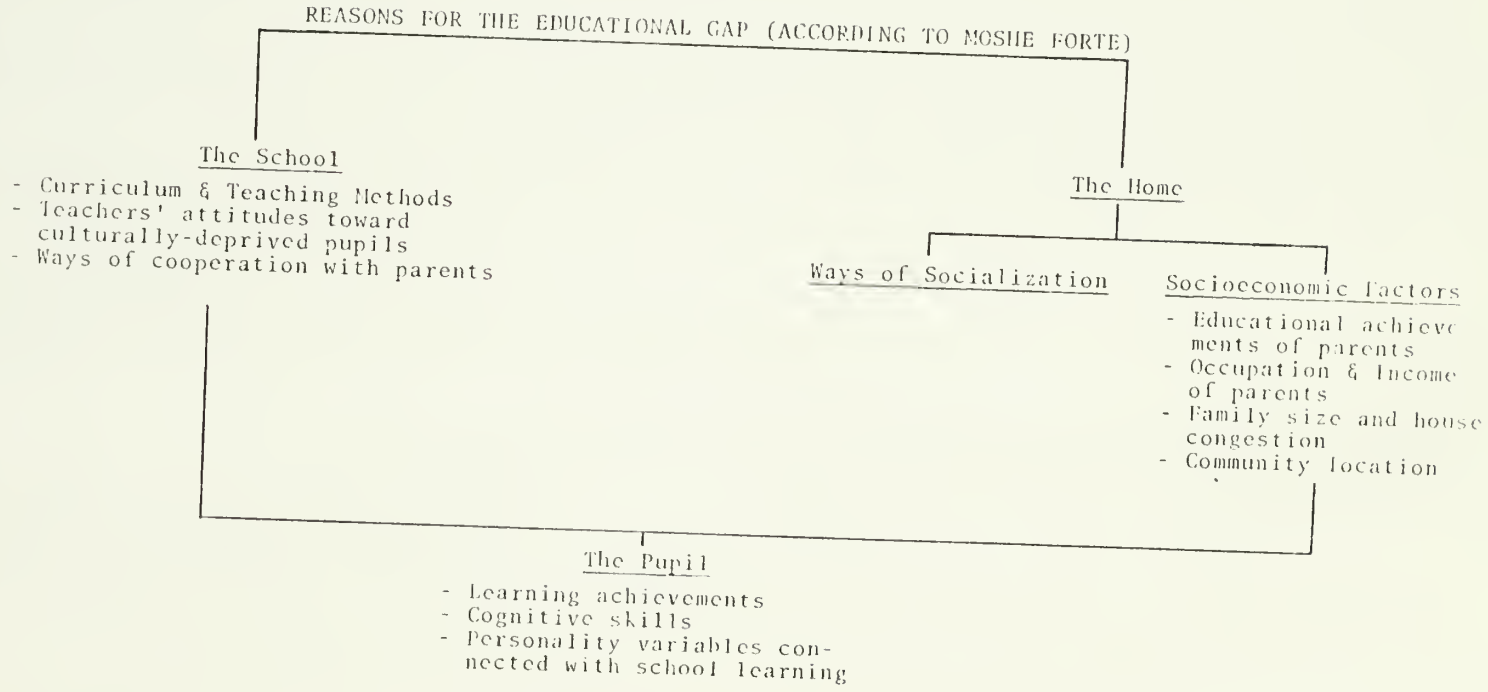

REASONS FOR THE EDUCATIONAL GAP (ACCORDING TO MOSHE FORTE)
The School
- Curriculum & Teaching Methods
- Teachers' attitudes toward culturally-deprived pupils
- Ways of cooperation with parents
The Home
Ways of Socialization
Socioeconomic Factors
- Educational achievements of parents
- Occupation & Income of parents
- Family size and house congestion
- Community location
The Pupil
- Learning achievements
- Cognitive skills
- Personality variables connected with school learning

TABLE NO. 4

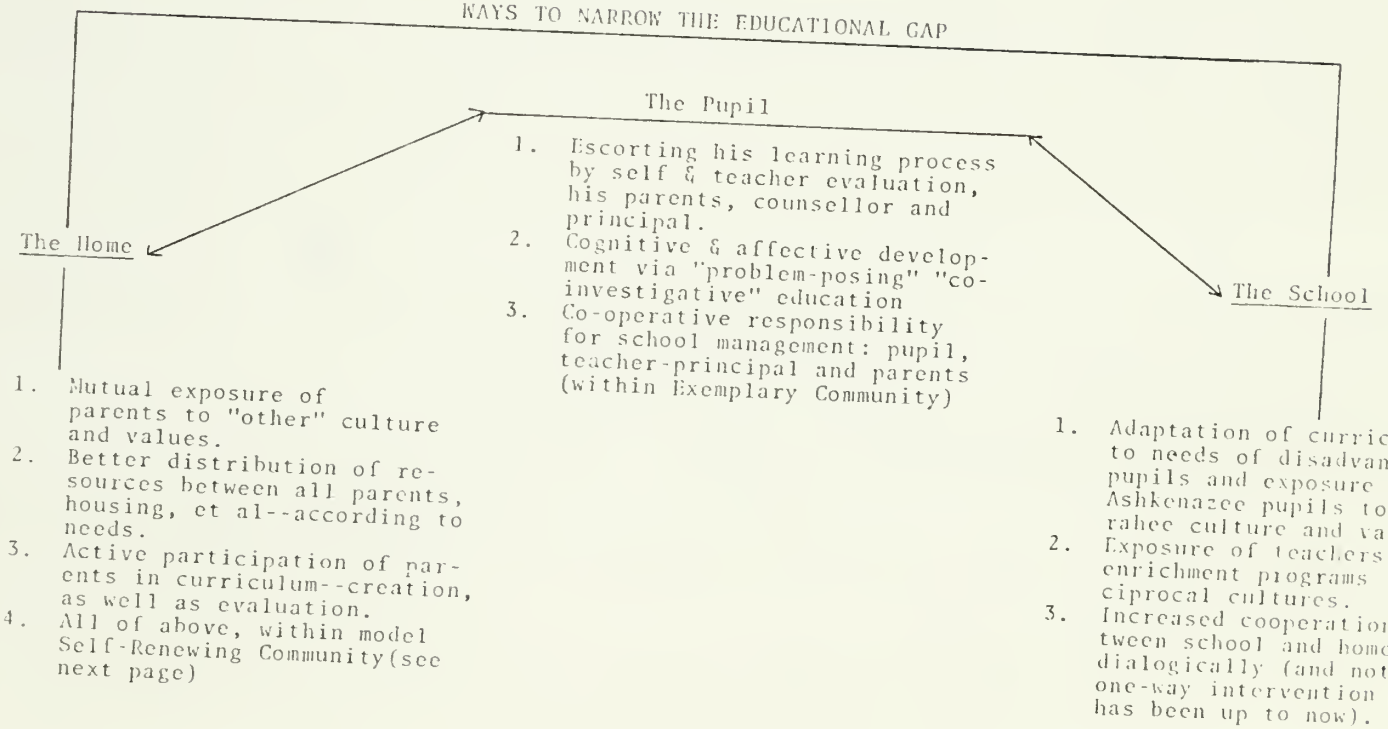

WAYS TO NARROW THE EDUCATIONAL GAP
The Pupil
1. Escorting his learning process by self & teacher evaluation, his parents, counsellor and principal.
2. Cognitive & affective development via "problem-posing" "co-investigative" education
3. Co-operative responsibility for school management: pupil, teacher-principal and parents (within Exemplary Community)
The Home
1. Mutual exposure of parents to "other" culture and values.
2. Better distribution of resources between all parents, housing, et al--according to needs.
3. Active participation of parents in curriculum--creation, as well as evaluation.
4. All of above, within model Self-Renewing Community(see next page)
The School
1. Adaptation of curriculum to needs of disadvantaged pupils and exposure of Ashkenazee pupils to Mizrahee culture and values
2. Exposure of teachers to enrichment programs in reciprocal cultures.
3. Increased cooperation between school and home dialogically (and not one-way intervention as has been up to now).

TABLE NO. 5

THE MODEL "SELF-RENEWING COMMUNITY"

Each element of the community dialogues and reciprocates--interrelates--on one or more of the nine levels. This integrates individual personality and community as extended family.

and ways of changing norms." Although the authors stress that each person is responsible for his own behaviour, and that no one takes responsibility for protecting or teaching others, TORI definitely stresses the meeting of a person with "another as a person" as central and to be "genuinely interdependent" as one of the "deepest needs of man."[54] Do not self-responsibility and the lack of responsibility for others contradict interdependence and "intimate communication"? It would seem not so because the Gibbs apparently understand protective responsibility as paternalism. They also stress self-actualization as a prior condition to communicating with others. Nevertheless, they conceive of dialogical contact as emerging from the group processes described above. They point out that "The fabric of social control is woven from caring, love, and emergent commitment and interdependence--not from role obligations, responsibilities, and duties."[55]

Hobart F. Thomas (1969) comes closer to Buber and Freire's concepts of mutual responsibility when he defines encounter as "meeting reality face to face." He finds that the most meaningful group experiences seem to occur when people: 1. are aware of what is going on in themselves; 2. listen attentively and empathetically to others; and 3. share their experiences, thoughts and perceptions with each other.

> I am very much conerned with the problem of how each person develops his own sense of autonomy . . . I value most the goal of each person finding answers within himself rather than looking to a great leader for the answers . . . . Of primary importance is . . . an attitude of allowing or letting be . . . . It is asking oneself the question "What is?" rather than "What ought to be?" . . . . In order for growth to occur, I see the need of two basic factors: nurturance and challenge . . . . Nurturance refers to the acceptance of the person just as he is . . . very similar to what is meant by unconditional mother love . . . . As the child grows. . . he soon discovers that much of his behaviour is not acceptable to others. He is challenged by both his peers and adults . . . who do not accept him just as he is . . . . I consider one of the important functions of the group facilitator to be that of allowing expression of the two forces of nurturance and challenge. As a facilitator one can only rely on one's feelings as to what is right at any given moment . . . 56

It would seem that both Gibbs and Hobart are hypersensitive with regard to the role of leadership, whether on a micro or macro level. They also seem to confuse the problem of paternalism with values. When posing the question "What is?" rather than "What ought to be?" they seem to forget that even if values are not prescribed, they nevertheless emerge out of interaction and encounter. Moreover, even Simon, Howe and Kirschenbaum (1972) who stress introspective reflection in their values-clarification approach, state unequivocally that "Everything we do, every decision we make and course of action we take, is based

on our consciously or unconsciously held beliefs, attitudes and values."[57] They point out that "At every turn we are forced to make choices about how to live our lives." Although feelings are very often the proper criteria for action, they are not always universal enough to preserve the community. Buber (1966) when defining Biblical Humanism as "The unity of human life under one divine direction which divides right from wrong", states "But what matters is that in every hour of decision we are aware of our responsibility and summon our consciense to weigh exactly how much is necessary to preserve the community . . . "[58] If Freire's "reflection" and Hobart's "self-awareness" help clarify individual and collective values in order to determine "how much is necessary to preserve the community" (i.e., society in its broadest sense) then the "generative-theme" approach, as well as Encounter and Values Clarification methodologies, will help realize the kind of society any given country would want to build--whether in Tanzania or in Israel. These strategies would also reflect practically the Mishnaic dictum: "If I am not for myself, who is for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I (worth)?"

If the purpose of dialogical education is to liberate human beings from oppression, then a country educating in

this way would want to build a free society. However, freedom cannot be synonymous with anarchy--economic or social. On the other hand, most experiments in socialism in many parts of the world, during the 20th century, have revealed an almost inevitable connection between egalitarianism and a centralized bureaucracy. This has been noted by Gar Alperovitz who has offered local American solutions. Malkin's reconstruction of the Community Plaza is another suggestion toward building a free society inductively, from the neighbourhood upwards. Nyerere's Ujama also stresses small farming units connected to schools, aspiring to self-reliance and autarchy.

Social literacy. In Israel centralized bureaucracy has alienated citizens to such an extent that in the national elections of 1977 they apparently chose to eliminate centralization together with every element of cooperation. Nevertheless, the Israeli voter retained the Labour Party as dominant within the Histadrut (the Labour Federation). If the "cooperative" or "collective" world view is to continue to find expression within such agricultural enterprises as the Kibbutz, Moshav, marketing cooperatives and holding companies, then bureaucracy must be attacked at its source.

A major sub-strategy of the "generative-theme"

approach suitable to decentralize bureaucracy is Social Literacy. This deals essentially with the naming of social problems. Alschuler, and others inspired by Freire, and actually working with several schools in Springfield, Massachusetts, have characterized the objectives of "Social Literacy" as follows:

> The targets of social literacy training are changing oppressive roles, not the role inhabitants; oppressive goals, not those who advocate them; oppressive rules, not the rule-enforcers; oppressive practices, not the practitioners; oppressive policies, not the policy makers; oppressive norms, not the normal people who act them out.[59]

This approach is particularly important and valuable for Israel, a country with a Middle Eastern-Mediterranean temperament. Tempers flare easily (especially when security is fragile) and targets automatically are persons, not processes.

To make involved individuals aware of these processes, the Social Literacy Project has developed still another strategy: the Stress Hunt. The Project's authors state:

> In brief, the stress hunt is a five-step process that involves:
>
> 1. Generating a long list of the most stressful and the most rewarding experiences in the daily lives of . . . students or teachers or administrators.
> 2. Summarizing these diverse stresses and joys into about ten categories;
> 3. Asking teachers (et al . . .) to rate the intensity of each category every day for 1-2 weeks;

4. Rank ordering the stresses in terms of what individuals find most-to-least stressful;
5. Following up on the successful hunt with a careful analysis of causes.[60]

Alschuler describes the steps involved in the process of Social Literacy, based on the history of the project. They are: 1. ENTRY into a given school; 2. NAMING the central conflict; 3. ANALYZING the causes; 4. SOLVING the problem.

The first step, ENTRY, entails the organization of a literacy training team. This team arranges meetings with a group, school or community to study that group's thought, language and actions. The "client" group and the "team" form a voluntary association in which both parties agree to seek common goals for increased social literacy.

The purpose of the second step, NAMING, is to define the central conflict of the problem, e.g., the challenge to win the students' attention by the teachers in class, called "the discipline problem." This conflict is reflected in many walks of life. It involves one group of people who have greater power or status than another group.

When this central conflict is named, the co-investigation group--the "team" and the "client group"--analyzes the conflict's causes by attempting to understand the system's causes. This ANALYSIS constitutes the third

step. The team then lists the names of important conflicts as problems to be understood.

Once comprehended, they will lead to joint action to resolve them. For example, in an Israeli situation a secondary school class in social science or in an adult literacy class, Israeli objectifying bureaucracy could be named as the central conflict experienced by either group. The adult literacy class would learn to read and write this word "bureaucracy" and its linguistic variations and the social science class would be defining the term and comparing its functioning in other democratic countries, as well as totalitarian ones, as part of the traditional curriculum. Both levels of learning, however, would explore the systematic cause for the development of bureaucracy in the way it was handled in Israel. Each class would then take group action to transform bureaucratic administration, at least within their respective institutions. This step, then, constitutes the SOLUTION of the problem.

Alschuler stresses that the uniqueness of the Social Literacy approach is that

> The central conflicts, words, causes and actions are drawn out of each situation . . . . Its content is not prescribed in a fixed curriculum. Traditional packaged curricula and prescribed objectives are . . . ways of maintaining people in the conforming . . . stage. But, according to

> Freire, only through problem-posing, true dialogue and collaborative problem solving do groups move towards democratic participation in transforming the problems in their social situation.[61]

Transforming social problems is not foreign to Jewish tradition. Social action, in particular, is stressed within the concept of the human being's realization of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Agus, describing Rabbi Kuk's world view, stresses that "every effort for the improvement of society is worship in action. In this view, the Messiah is no longer a person but a symbol of the horizon of perfection." This "perfect" society could not tolerate, according to Rabbi Kuk, division.[62] (Stress added.)

These underlined words reinforce Buber's dialogue and Freire's praxis, and Kuk's admonishment against "division" warns against the current socio-economic cross-cultural gap. In every sphere, phase and community of Israeli life, opportunities for dialogue and critical consciousness exist and could be tapped. The previously mentioned strategy--Social Literacy--as well as others, can be used within the framework of all groups, even those which are ostensibly parochial and dogmatic. These strategies have been found to be the most suitable and adaptable to the implementation of the dialogical approach. In the course of their implementation in Israel, new and better ones might be found, in which case attempts would be made to adapt

them to each situation as it arises.

Problem of "perception." None of the strategies dealt with in this chapter will succeed in effecting change or trans-culturation through the dialogical process in education without a change of attitudes towards perceiving the other person or the other culture. Nyerere's socio-economic ideals of educating for Ujama have little chance of withstanding the impact of Western, rationalist technology unless his own people are given the tools to perceive their own tradition in proper perspective in relation to Western culture. Even if the HIPPY project in Israel could bridge the gap between Nyerere's modernizing school and the family socio-educational unit by rectifying its curriculum content for mothers, the problem of their self-perception and their perception of the reality around them would still exist. Freire's co-investigation of the generative theme would also come up against the problem of perception (by the facilitators and their 'clients') of the "people's" reality. How can an academic or even para-professional, middle-class facilitator empathize with a mother of 10 children in a Katamon slum in Jerusalem or with a compesino serf in Equador? His or her acculturated perceptions or prejudices must surely influence the whole process of coding, decoding and even the ability to discern contradictions.

How can Alperovitz envision decentralized "community corporations" and similar Moshav-like communitarian ideals when the people who will be called upon to effect this change have been acculturated to look upon such concepts as 'communist' dangers to their Land of Opportunity? The average Israeli's perception of the Synagogue as only a house of prayer is so firmly imbedded that Malkin's proposal to reconstruct it into a Community Center will evoke only polite laughter. His suggestion to re-integrate the school into it might be acceptable but how could it also serve as a center for the arts and entertainment? "Pure sacrilege!" The fact that today's community centers serve the disadvantaged almost exclusively would block out, almost totally, any possibility of the new perceptions posited by Malkin. The dialogue that Malkin envisions in his Community Plaza, that Freire alludes to as both a means and an end to liberate "man" from objectification, that Buber identifies as "encounter" ("No purpose intervenes between I and You .. . Every means is an obstacle. Only where all means have disintegrated encounters occur."), that the Gibbs's, through their TORI theory ("meet another as a person, in deep and meaningful contact")--this Dialogue that is so indispensable to modern men and women can only be realized, as Buber states, when "all means have disintegrated." But how are they overtly fissionized

when, as the authors of Values Clarification rightly point out, "everything we do . . . is based on our consciously or unconsciously held beliefs . . . "? In other words, dialogue and/or encounter cannot take place as long as preconceptions and acculturated perceptions continue to exist.

The crucial question, then, is how to affect perception change. Williams (1972) dealing with the problem of 'perceptions' of other cultures, brings a personal example of cross-cultural gaps. In Borneo, his wife projected her concept of 'disorder' onto two Dusan girls (in the village of Sensuron) who could 'see' no disorder or 'litter' in the house area as she had 'seen'. Stating that one culture can never remake another culture over into its own image, William stresses that

> . . . it is not possible to make a Dusan into an Arunta, or an Arunta into an Ashanti, or an Ashanti into an American, etc. simply by changing shelter types (as one manifestation of technology); a Dusun looks at the world in Dusun terms and ways because he has been enculturated in the totality of Dusun culture, not solely because he has lived in a Dusun shelter.[63]

In view of this assumption Williams believes that his own Western conceptions "could be transcended only by my learning the basic cultural postulates guiding Dusun life and by suspending, as best I could, my use of those postulates on which my own culture rests."[64]

It is very significant that this anthropologist does not even offer a description of the process by which he would suspend the use of his own cultural postulates. It is pointless to speculate why he has not offered some sort of explanation as to how to suspend them. The fact is that he has not. Thus the question remains, and the problem is yet to be solved.

"Regenerative return." A possible solution lies in the new strategy, "Regenerative Return." This method has been derived from the Dialogical Vision's theoretical construct, "Ruahadamamuda." The strategy has been developed in order to deal practically with the Hebrew concept of human fallibility, "Het," commonly known as "sin." The Hebrew word "Het" means "missing the mark." If the mark is perfection, then missing it should not create guilt-complexes resulting from concepts of sin and "culpa" (blame). It should only demand repeated practice. However, the question arises, "What constitutes perfection?" One person might believe that hedonism constitutes the perfect life whereas another might believe in ascetism.

Whatever definition of perfection is accepted by those participating in the following "game" process, as long as it is accepted it becomes an absolute value. The extent to which the individual or the group accepting it is

able to actualize it is the extent to which he or they "hit the mark." If he "misses"--and to whatever degree he misses the mark--he "hoteh" (sins). To return to perfection--the source--he must regenerate himself through Ruah (Spirit). Thus the term "Regenerative Return." This Ruah enables a person to perfect his or her practice --and in times of depression, enables him or her to function in order to return to practice. This practice facilitates perfection in whatever value he/she or the group has chosen as absolute and as a commitment to translate it into action.

The definition of the term can be crystallized by the convening of a Freirian-type "cultural circle." The facilitator presents a diagram of a Bull's Eye with "perfection" inscribed in the dead center. Along the concentric circles surrounding the "Eye" he writes Jewish and non-Jewish universal values. After discussing these value among members of the group, each participant fills in his or her own diagram with their own values. It is possible here to inject the above-mentioned "Values-Clarification" strategy as a way of arriving at these values. After further discussion of several examples of newly-written values leading to perfection in various spheres of life, the participants go home to reflect upon what they have heard and upon what they themselves have contributed.

At the second session, the process is repeated - but in a different way. Each participant hands in his or her "Target" with values prepared in the interim period of "reflection." The group then discusses the new sets of values and deicdes upon a new Target Board that would commit the group. This commitment would last for about two or three sessions. Examples that might appear could be: learning the culture of an unknown ethnic group; refraining from shouting or using other forms of violence to pupils, to teachers, to children at home, to parents, to spouses; visiting the sick in hospitals; volunteering to help disadvantaged children with their school work while requesting from them something new to learn, so as to not create paternalism; et al.

After the group has attempted to put into practice the values they themselves have "created" and committed themselves through a contractual "brith" to perform and carry out, they return to the group and report to what extent they have "hit the mark" and to what degree they have "missed" it. This is done graphically, using the target. Equally important is the second stage: analysis. "Why have I missed the mark?" or "Why did I succeed in hitting it?" In this evaluative analysis, a table similar to the Stress Hunt in the Social Literacy method can be used.

This process can go on for a semester or any given amount of time until the group and the individuals in it feel that they have relatively reached a value structure--their own Torah--which they can live by. It can also provide the basis in different areas for transforming society.

Within the formal and even non-formal educational framework, "Regenerative Return" can also be used to replace the traditional, achievement and status-oriented grading system. It would seem that with only a little imagination it could be applied in this context in many different creative ways.

The process described above is "open-ended." Each participant chooses his or her "Values Target." This enables the Target to be constructed as to values categories, priorities, etc., according to the wishes and decisions of the group. Another approach is possible, however, and sometimes even desirable. The value to be discussed is a "given." The group accepts the "given" value with the understanding that it constitutes a specific problem to be solved. In the case of Williams' attempt to "suspend his own cultural postulates" in learning the basic postulates of another culture, his "what" must be supplemented by a "how", in order to find a solution. As noted above, he does not explain <u>how</u> to suspend his own cultural postulates.

Thus the term "cultural suspension" appears in the Bull's Eye of the target as an absolute, perfect value. Before participating in this "cultural circle," each member must become familiar with Freire, Buber and the construct, Ruah'adamah'muda. At the first session, each member of the group orally presents solutions. By the end of the session, the group tries to reach a consensus solution. Whether it does so or not, the facilitator provides bibliography, field data and other source material in education, anthropology and sociology for collective research (co-investigation) and for the individual, as the group decides. This research is brought to the "cultural circle's" next session. Once again, each individual or sub-group contributes their value-laden solution to the target, and go through the same open-ended process described above.

Again, once the group has decided on a consensus--a Brith commitment with regard to implementation of a given value or set of values--it goes out to apply it in real life. After a given period of application, members report back to the whole group, describing to what extent, how and why they "hit" or "missed the mark" of perfection.

Basically, there is gamemanship involved in this process. Two groups could compete for the solution. The

prize, however, would be the intrinsic value of the solution and the satisfaction derived. This could be called "competitive cooperation," for here competition is aimed at praxis and results, rather than acquisitiveness or status.

Thus the whole atmosphere of the "game" is conducive to cross-cultural dialogue. Political reasons do not exist to coopt the "other" cultural group into the dominant culture. The aim is intrinsic human contact and understanding with all the anguish, on the one hand, and ecstasy, on the other, involved in the process of resolution.

The process of attempting to achieve inter-human contact and understanding by suspending one's cultural postulates in order to learn the cultural postulates of the other--Williams did not recommend the cancelling of one's cultural postulates--has been traced through the presentation of a number of educational strategies and methodologies to be implemented by the Institute of Dialogical Education. These strategies have been inspired--consciously or not--by the trialogical vision of dialogue advocated by its four main proponents mentioned in this study--Buber, Freire, Rosenzweig and the study's author. Essentially the vision deals with the Spriti--Human Being--Earth relationship.

Such a relationship is inherent in the following methodologies to be implemented by the Institute of Dialogical Education. Nyerere's "Ujama" stresses mutual respect and cooperation in society, as well as in education. The "spirit" of these elements must be a generating force if they are to be realized. The modified version of HIPPY, Israel's project for pre-schoolers, must be able to suspend cultural postulates if its facilitators wish to encourage mothers of other, non-Western cultures, to integrate new values into the education of their children. The various versions of the "vision of reconstructed community" must be imbued with dialogical processes if they are to succeed in integrating the whole human being and his or her community. Freire's "generative theme" and the newly-developed strategy, "Regenerative Return", are indispensable for all types of cooperation--whether those of Johnson and Johnson, mentioned earlier in this study, or the newly-proposed "critically-conscious curricular evaluation" mentioned in this chapter in conjunction with ways and means of narrowing the sociocultural gap in the school-community. "Encounter" methods and Social Literacy training processes are all dialogically-based.

They all must draw from Ruah'adama'muda--the Vision of Dialogue. For in the absence of Spirit, the motivation to enter into relation with other human beings, with the

world and with Spirit, withers. The Jasperian anguish within the dialogical process forever challenges the human being to retain contact with Spirit--for strength. Then, and only then can the alienated person in Israel, as every other human being objectified by modern society, reach the ideal dialogical encounter perhaps once attained by the Plains Indian People, as described by Hyemeyohsts Storm:

> Come sit with me, and let us smoke the Pipe of Peace in understanding. Let us touch. Let us, each to the other, be a Gift as is the Buffalo. Let us be Meat to Nourish each other, that we all may Grow. Sit here with me, each of you as you are in your own Perceiving of yourself, as Mouse, Wolf, Coyote, Weasel, Fox or Prairie Bird. Let me See through your Eyes. Let us teach each other here in this Great Lodge of the People, this Sun Dance, of each of the Ways on this Great Medicine Wheel, our Earth.[65]

C H A P T E R V I

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The basic premise of this study is that a socio-cultural gap exists today in Israel. The gap exists as a result of the Jewish State's educational system which derives its origins from Europe. Early in its development it established rigorous academic standards to meet the requirements of a Western, achievement-oriented society. Most Ashkenazee youth successfully meet these requirements due to their Western background. Less than 50 percent of the Mizraheem meet them due to their Oriental background. The Mizraheem constitute over 60 percent of the Jewish population in Israel.

Despite the recognition of this problem in Israel during the last decade, no solution has been attempted which was based on a clear understanding of the problem's source. Instead, various Western-oriented technologies have been adopted that have served, at best, as "first-aid."

Since the Oriental Jews came to Israel with different values, they are considered "culturally deprived" by the Ashkenazi Israeli establishment. This approach alienates and objectifies them, and also reinforces inferiority feelings already created by conflicting sets of values.

Upon examining the culture that was ostensibly withheld from the Mizraheem, the study determined that this Western culture engendered a modern, consumer-oriented society which contained all the advantages of Western science and technology. On the other hand, the culture engendered the crisis of modern man, alienated paradoxically by the very tools he created. The more Western man thought he had conquered nature, the less he was able to control his own human nature. The more he developed better media of communication, the less he was able to communicate with his fellow man.

The crisis originated in Western Europe during the days of the Enlightenment. Man was proudly liberating himself from all authority except his own--homocentricity.

This "liberation" was accompanied by a rash of scientific discoveries and technological inventions. The industrial revolution had hardly begun when the rationalist philosophers began to call for the trilogy of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality that was to become emblazoned on the banner of the French Revolution. But after authority-less Robspierre had drowned France in an egalitarian bloodbath, Napoleon and his European counterparts felt impelled to bring the benefits of the Enlightenment to all of Europe, to the Americas and

to so-called "backward savages" in European colonies throughout the world.

The Jewish People in Europe, who had patiently waited for the Messianic era to come for almost two thousand years, had the need to believe so much that they mistook the Enlightenment for the birth pangs of the ultimate Messianic era. However, they soon found out that all men were equal but that some men were more equal. Nevertheless, the Jewish People began to divest themselves of the ancient "yoke" of Jewish values. Some only modified them, like Moses Mendelssohn. Others rejected them completely, like Felix Mendelssohn. Still others in Eastern Europe, saw the new era of anticipated equality within the context of cultural equality and pluralism, and began developing a Jewish renaissance--the Haskalah--about two hundred years after the European one had taken place.

When the Jews in all parts of Europe began to re-experience pogroms, salon discrimination and such strange incidents as the Dreyfus case in the cradle of the Enlightened, they decided to leave Europe. The majority went to the United States. A very small minority went to Palestine to work the land.

However, with increased selective immigration from Europe, all the ideals that the Palestinian Jews developed

in their embryonic society (socialism, cooperation, etc.) were not strong enough to overcome their Western, European heritage. Thus, from 1884-1948, the Jews built a model Western island in the Arab sea of the Middle East.

In 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel, and its abrogation of the 1939 British White Paper limiting Jewish immigration and land purchase, the Jews opened their doors wide to bring about the Messianic vision of the "Ingathering of the Exiles." These exiles did not come from New York or London. Initially, they came from German Death Camps in Europe, but from 1949 to 1952 they came mainly from Yemen, Morocco and Iran. By 1953, almost half of the Jewish population in Israel had come from Asian and African countries.

The Jewish community of Palestine, the Yishuv, who had created the third Jewish State of Israel, saw itself as the vanguard of Western civilization, albeit with unique Jewish national characteristics. The majority were secular.

The new Israeli worshipped the Moloch of technology. This carried with it Western European methods of education. Within the community and the educative process, all persons from Afro-Asian countries were

considered inferior. Thus, their own "brothers" who came, as the Yemenite Jews truly believed, "on wings of Eagles" were to be absorbed into an Israeli society yet unborn but which could be very clearly identified as Western-oriented. One of the rationales for stressing Western technology was the need to defend the country against hostile neighbors with Western tools and weapons.

Since this orientation did not prepare the Israeli for dialogue, and he had all but rejected his Jewish heritage in which dialogue played a major role, he began to "teach" his Oriental brother only what he had but recently learned--Western technology and achievement-oriented education. Since the Mizrahee had not been exposed to a consumerist achievement-oriented society where "time was money," he was a "slow learner." This developed into a sociocultural gap which has been widening as time goes on between Ashkenazic Jews and Mizraheem.

Israel's cultural problems, as well as those other Western-oriented societies, can be traced back to the Greek values that had influenced the philosophers of the European Enlightenment. The Encyclopedists were also influenced by Renaissance art and thought. Predeterminism was one of its products. This was conducive

for the development of behaviourist psychology and the objectification of human beings. Locke's "Tabula Rasa" theory also helped consolidate this approach. Behaviourism has remained dominant in Western psychological and educational thought ever since.

With the consolidation of these rationalist, empirical values, Western Europe, after having discovered new lands and having subjugated them through scientific and technological superiority, discovered a rationale for all it had done--Progress. This has been the magic word since the Enlightenment. It has become the universal criterion of wrong and right, good and bad. A by-product of this world view was cultural superiority, for if one had kept up with progress, one was superior. The converse would be described as inferiority.

Inasmuch as the Jews thought they had been accepted as equals in European society, they identified with the European outlook, and accepted this view as their own. Freire, in defining his second stage of consciousness--the naive one--calls such behaviour "identification with the oppressor" and "playing host" to him. In this stage the "oppressed" imitates the "oppressor." They dress like him, emulate his manners, adopt his dialect of speech, et cetera. The Jews acted in this way. In order to find favor in the eyes of the

enlightened European, they divested themselves of many Jewish symbols--at least outside their homes and community. This behaviour their descendants unconsciously projected onto the Oriental Jews in Israel. They naively believed that they were bringing all the best in Western civilization to their Oriental brothers. This is what created the sociocultural gap in Israel.

European culture was based on the Western rationalist tradition. Its impact on Jewish traditional values caused the Jews to abandon these values in order to be accepted into modern Western society.

Inasmuch as Rationalism was critiqued in this study, and was found to be the principal cause of the alienation of modern man, alternate philosophies were proposed to rehabilitate the human condition. Buber's Biblical Humanism was presented as a viable alternative. Freire's educational philosophy, advocating critical consciousness as the method to liberate oppressed human beings, constituted another alternative in the same spirit of Buber. Both advocated the use of Dialogue to effect that liberation. Freire's three stages of consciousness develop through the process of dialogue--man with his world, man with his fellow and ultimately, even with his oppressor. In the first stage, the Magical, the oppressed is not conscious of his oppression.

He accepts it fatalistically. In the second stage, the Naive, his awareness of his oppression and the need to liberate himself increases but he naively believes that if he emulates the oppressor, the latter will accept him as his equal, and possibly liberate him. When the oppressor mocks him as a result of his imitation, the oppressed becomes conscious of the Critical stage. He becomes aware of his own identity, thus liberating himself from having internalized the oppressor's values. In all three stages reflection is part of the process for the development of consciousness.

In education, too, Freire posits that the teacher also can be oppressed when he is authoritative and dominant while the student is passive, meek and a follower--an "object" of the learning process. Both the teacher and the student become "subjects" through the process of dialogue. They co-investigate problems presented with open-ended questions. The answers they supply result from free critical analysis of the problematic situation.

Judaism was also offered as an alternative to Rationalism. The concept of "meaning" was found to be indispensable to all of the alternative philosophies, for only an awareness of meaning in creation, life, man and language--as its expression--could lead to genuine dialogue.

The study presented a Vision of Dialogue contingent on the elements of faith, humility, hope, trust and love. If these conditions were met, then this Vision could supplant Positivism as a way of life.

The Vision's construct, proposed by the study, was called Ruah'adama'muda, a trialogue of consciousness between Spirit, Man and World. This construct was conducive to the development of dialogue between man and his fellow. Without it, dialogue would be impossible.

Suggestions were offered for the educational implementation of the Vision. A new framework had to be built--with the aid of a cadre of select, critically conscious educators who would, through co-investigation of Israeli reality, cope with the problems of an achievement-oriented society. This cadre would set up an Institute for Dialogical Education which would develop content material to facilitate the reconstruction of Jewish values eroded by Western culture.

The main thrust of this curriculum content would be the reconstruction of Jewish values in Israel. Problem-posing, based on Israeli reality which has evolved from the process of immigrant absorption leading to alienation, should demonstrate the need for the re-evaluation of Jewish values as alternatives to Western-oriented Israel reality. As part of this process of

re-interpretation, symbols were found to be important to impart meaning to these reconstructed values. Since symbols are a quest for communication and commitment, they are indispensable for the enhancement of dialogue.

Practical strategies presented to translate these values and their symbols into real life situations included Freire's "generative-theme" facilitated by co-investigation, Alschuler's Social Literacy method in which the "system" is critiqued and not the victim of the system--the oppressed. This makes for a constructive transformation of the system through the dialogical evaluation of it. In education, this would take place with the teachers of a given school on the one hand, and its administration on the other.

In the course of the study, it was also proposed that strategies such as a reconstructed, holistic dialogical community--facilitating interaction between the home, school and other cultural and commercial facets of the community--should be part of the content of the Dialogical Institute. Israel had already experimented in this field with the Kibbutz and the Moshav, a semi-collectivized commune, but had slipped back into Freire's Naive stage. The HIPPY experiments for culturally different mothers to help educate their children at preschool ages could also be revised to introduce

more ethnic content into its concepts. A "Cultural Circle," the basic organizational unit in Freire's method, is made up of about 20 learners and the investigator-facilitators. Together they decode the "generative theme," i.e., existent social reality, of which the learners are not always aware. Each theme has its antithesis: if prescriptive teaching is one theme, problem-posing education is its antithesis. Such "circles" also exist in Israel; they are called Hugei Bayit (Home Circles). Their purpose is not to investigate problems but rather to listen to solutions being presented. The prescriptive character of these "meetings" --built around the same number of people as Freire's "cultural circles," could be transformed into meetings leading to what Freire calls praxis, i.e., the practice of freedom.

All these existing institutions, once exposed to dialogical methods of education, all have the potential to become catalysts in the process of encouraging dialogue on every level.

As has been noted, Israel has been blessed with multifarious socially conscious institutions such as Kibbutzeem, Moshaveem, the Labour Federation, Sick Funds, Marketing Co-ops, et al. that are conducive to the development of dialogical human relations. The

extant bureaucracy in these institutions was examined through the eyes of Alperovitz's decentralized communitarian projects and his strategies for democratizing socialism. In this context, Nyerere's "Ujama" program was used as a criterion for socioeconomic educational purpose--something that had existed in the early years of Jewish settlement in its attempt to construct a new humanistic man. Perhaps Tanzania's transculturation strategies to ward off technological domination can reinvigorate Israel's early social ideals, and help her close the sociocultural gap.

However, the problem of cross-cultural perceptions is probably the key to the implementation of all dialogical strategies. How can a human being suspend, even if he tries consciously to do so, his cultural postulate, in order to empathize with another individual or another ethnic group? One possible answer was found in the new strategy, "Regenerative Return," developed for this study. Another answer might be found in the concept of the Medicine Wheel governing the thoughts and actions to this day of the Plains Indians People. If these strategies and concepts can help resolve the problem of "empathetic perception," then perhaps the strategies to implement dialogue can be successfully introduced into Israel.

Conclusions. If and when a cadre of educators does arise in Israel to effect Buber's and Freire's dialogical process, leading to praxis, i.e., cultural action toward freedom, then the sociocultural gap will gradually disappear. One indispensable condition for this to happen is the practice of reflection as part of Freire's cultural action. This cannot be limited only to Mizraheem, reflecting on ways to developmentally proceed from the Magical Stage to the Prime-Heritage Stage (developed in this study), to the Naive, and finally to the Critical Stage. The Ashkenazeem must also give thought to their fatalistic acceptance of Israel's Western-oriented society, in which they are aware of all of its faults but are doing almost nothing about it. When the Ashkenazeem also become aware of how deep they are in the Naive Stage, emulating Western values almost indiscriminately, then the chances will improve for them to reach the Critical Stage. Only then will they become aware of their problem of cross-cultural perception, and will begin to search for ways to dialogue with the Mizraheem, out of mutual respect, in order to improve the quality of life for the entire nation.

All this is contingent, of course, on Israel's return to what Buber calls Biblical Humanism. This is "the realization of the true communal living to which

Israel was summoned by the Covenant with God . . . and by being involved in the development of humanity, Israel may attain its unimperiled existence, its true security."[1]

Outright rejection of Western culture in general and of science and technology, in particular, is neither possible nor desirable. Nevertheless, serious thought--reflective thought--must be given to the problem of how to subjectify human beings in what is basically a milieu of oppressive objectification and alienation.

Judaism, throughout its long history, has always known how to assimilate great foreign cultures into innovative, constructive Jewish values. This took place during the Hellenistic period. Today, with a new concept of Spirit, based on ancient versions of this regenerating force, modern Israel must synthesize the use of scientific tools with the great, humanistic tenets of ancient Judaism. The sociocultural gap is the testing ground of dialogue. If it can be applied successfully in Israel, it might well serve as an educational example to other societies coping with similar problems.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. Dan Ronen, "Education in Israel: Values and Gaps," Monthly Review, A Monthly for Israel Defence Forces Officers 3-4 (March-April, 1978), p. 16-17. Dr. Ronen was Advisor to the former Minister of Education, Mr. Aharon Yadlin.

2. Ibid., p. 4-5.

3. Raphael Patai, "Western and Oriental Culture in Israel," Israel: Social Structure and Change, ed. Michael Curtis and Mordechai S. Chertoff, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1972), p. 307.

4. The origins of the Oriental Jews are dealt with later in this chapter. Henceforth, the Hebrew term Mizrahee (singular) or Mizraheem (plural) will be used instead of "Oriental."

5. "Ashkenazee" is the Hebrew term for "Western" or "Occidental." The origins of the Ashkenazeem are traced later in this chapter.

6. The anthropologist DuBois (1955) has presented an outline of themes in American culture which accurately reflect this type of society. DuBois notes that this culture is organized around four "basic premises" (or themes): 1) The Universe is a Mechanism; 2) Man is Master of the Universe; 3) Men are equal; 4) Men are perfectable. According to DuBois, specific values in American life are as follows: 1. Material well being: a) A high standard of living, b) Success in material goods carries a moral sanction, c) Manual labour is dignified . . . and will "pay off" in material well-being; 2. Conformity-specific values: a) Team work; b) Self-achievement has the goal of similarity; 3. Effort-optimism specific values: a) Work is valuable, b) Importance of formal education to prepare children for careers, c) Vigour and impatience - even at the expense of planning. C. DuBois in Thomas R. Williams, Introduction to Socialization, (St. Louis: Mosby, 1972), p. 225.

7. David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson, in Review of Educational Research, Vol. 44, No. 2, "When any

individual behaves in such a way as to increase his chance of goal attainment, he decreases the chances that the others with whom he is linked will achieve their goals . . . . Since there can be only one 'winner,' most persons in a competitive situation have a failure experience."

Later, they assert that "competition will by and large decrease achievement rather than increase it." David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson, "Instructional Goal Structure," Review of Educational Research, 44 (Spring, 1974), pp. 215, 218.

8. Ben-Zion Dinur, Israel's first Minister of Education, defined Zionism as ". . . an unending line of messianic stirrings and rebellions against an evil destiny which began right after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, with the Bar Kohkba revolt in the next century . . . frequent ascents of small groups of pietists from the Diaspora to the Holy Land, occurring in every century of the medieval and pre-modern age, as expressions of a main theme--indeed, of the main theme--of 'return', which gave meaning to Jewish experience in the exile. The bond between the people and its land, which it never gave up hope of resettling, was thus never broken, and Zionism is, therefore, the consummation of Jewish history under the long-awaited, propitious circumstances afforded by the age of liberalism and nationalism." Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1959), p. 17.

Shlomo Avineri stresses that ". . . even though the motivation for the growth of Zionism derived from the will and the need to liberate the people of Israel and not the land of Israel, (nevertheless) it is clear that if we are dealing with Jewish self-determination, and the Jew wishes to be he, himself and not his own shadow, . . . he must define himself by the anvil of the Jewish historical experience: Palestine. . . . To tell a Jew that he will be a free Jew everywhere--in Uganda, in Argentina, in Birobidjan--but that in the land to which his history is tied, as well as his tongue and his geography, he is forbidden to be and may not define himself--to say a thing like this to a Jew does not mean to deny him a piece of land (holiness, prestige and history as they represent to him); it means to deny him his liberty. . . . But the essence of Zionism was mainly the liberation and self-determination of the Jewish People. That is the internal dialectic of Zionism. Its essence was not the liberation of Palestine , but the liberation of Palestine was the

means, the necessary means, for the liberation of the Jewish People . . . " (Shlomo Avineri, Varieties of Zionist Thought, (Tel Aviv: AmOved Publ., 1980), p. 23).

9. The Jewish Community in Mandatory Palestine.

10. See Chapter 3.

11. Within the Bible (the Old Testament), the Torah comprises the Five Books of Moses. In non-Jewish literature, it is commonly referred to as "The Law."

12. See Chapter 3.

13. Ghetto-like Jewish quarter in Moslem lands.

14. Kenneth L. Brown describes the reactions of the two communities to this colonial edict, stressing that "both the Moslem community and the Jewish one opposed these schools. They feared that the schools would turn the youngsters into "little Frenchmen' and 'little Christians,' and that they would be ignoramuses with regard to everything Moslem or Jewish; they would not know the languages of these religions--Arabic and Hebrew. The Moslem community . . . forbade its youth to attend the French school, and in 1921 established an independent school of its own. These free schools, as they were called, provided modern education in Arabic, as well as the teaching of the religion and history of Islam. The ferment around the question of education was one of the factors that caused the young educated Moslems to become active in the National Morrocan Movement.

In the beginning, the Jewish community attempted to boycott the French 'Alliance' school . . . . Most of the parents refused to allow their children to attend . . . . The Principal of the school forced it on the Community by causing the French authorities to close the private schools within the framework of the synagogue." "Mella and State: A City in Morrocco and Its Jewish Quarter," Pe'Amim Studies in the Cultural Heritage of Oriental Jewry 4 (Winter, 1980), pp. 48-49.

L'Alliance's approach to Jewish education and values in Iran brought about an almost identical reaction of Iranian Jews in the eraly part of the twentieth century. Amnon Netser describes it as follows:

"Jews from Shiraz were the first, perhaps the only ones (out of Iranian Jewry) that expelled L'Alliance teachers from their town . . . due to the curriculum which was far from being Jewish . . . . This was a community that was willing to forgo the imported education of L'Alliance and not to lose the faith which--more than they held on to it, it held on to them." "Quick Conclusions in Research on Jews from Shiraz," Pe'Amim, (Winter, 1980), p. 96.

15. Yehuda Nini, Western Cultural Assimilation Among Jews of the Mediterranean Basin, (Shazar Library: The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1979), p. 21.

16. See Chapter 3.

17. See detailed account in Chapter 3.

18. See Chapter 3.

19. Celia S. Heller, "The Ethnic Problem of Israeli Jews," Israel: Social Structure and Change, p. 316.

20. Martin Buber, Israel and the World (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 156-157.

21. The realization of "a great Jewish community" which will bring "purification and redemption" expounded by Buber also actually existed in the Jewish collective sub-conscious during the two-thousand year Exile prepared "consciously" through the learning of humanistic Jewish values.

In a note on this phenomenon, Lewis stresses that ". . . the Ashkenazi Israelis do not form a single coherent group. Indeed, important social cleavages, i.e., religious-secular, kibbut-urban, country of origin and social class divide this population. Similar divisions segment the Oriental Jewish population. . . " A. Lewis, Power, Poverty and Education (Ramat Gav: Turtle-Dove, 1979),

Lewis substantiates the low status of the Mizraheem by providing the reader with a list of sociological sources such as "Hanoch 1961, pp. 37-125; Hartman and Eilon 1973; Inbar and Adler 1977; Liron 1973; Lissak 1969; Matras 1965, pp. 131-170; Matras 1970; Matras and Weintraub 1977; Pack 1973."

towns are immigrant communities planned from their inception by the National Government. They are built and maintained with public funds . . . " Ibid., p. 202..

22. Celia Heller explains that ". . . The problem lies in the continuously growing coalescence of ethnicity and class in Israel, a reality that sharply contradicts the national ideology of the 'ingathering of (the) exiles' and their amalgamation into a unified nation . . . . Recently Israel political scientists and sociologists have been turning their attention to the inequality in power. The latter is of increasing significance because of the growing importance of political power as a criterion of evaluation and as an avenue of access to high economic position . . . . The rhetoric of the governing elite remained egalitarian; the social structure was no longer so.

The immigrants from . . . Islamic lands had to adjust to a rapidly industrializing society. They were preached to in terms of egalitarian and collectivist ideals; they were often treated in terms of a divisive, rugged and impersonal individualism . . . . the objective factors of inequality are having a sociologically predictable effect on forging an ethnic identity among the Jews from the Oriental countries and their children. It must be recognized that their perception of their relative lack of things that count in Israel is especially heightened by the changing life style of the country. The simplicity in style of life, so characteristic of the pioneering days, is being rapidly replaced by a preoccupation and fascination with consumer goods. Such goods are being imbued with great symbolic value and are displayed conspicuously. In such a climate, the feelings of relative deprivation of the Orientals are heightened." Celia Heller, "The Ethnic Problem of Israeli Jews," in Israel: Social Structure and Change, pp. 314-324.

Relating to the problem of equality and 'relative deprivation', Rina ben-Shaul, in an anthropological study of Bukharian immigrants in the development town of Bet Shemesh points out that ". . . in their area of origin a consciousness was created in which the recognition of the superiority of the Russian culture over those (cultures) of Central Asia became axiomatic, and the use of the Russian language has become an indicator of a higher education and culture. Since the process of Russification began only in the second quarter of this century, actually the language and the culture of Russia constitute the legacy of the youth whereas the older and the elderly

retain the customs and the original language, and therefore when close ties to the Russian culture are alluded to, this refers to persons of middle age, to youngsters and to children among Bukharian immigrants . . . . Very often the youth point out--negatively--the differential attitude to ethnic groups in Israel as compared with the egalitarian values of Soviet society that sees, according to them, in each individual a person of equal value without any reference to his Origin." Rina Ben-Shaul, Bukharian Immigrants in Bet Shemesh, Anthropological Research, Jerusalem: Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Hebrew University, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Planning and Research Division, 1975, p. 78.

Heller explains that ". . . left to themselves, the immigrants from Europe were able to cope comparatively well in the Israeli society that they were shaping along the lines of industrialization and consumerism. They possessed the . . . technological skills to a much greater extent than the immigrants from the Islamic countries. Their values tended to be secular, universalistic and achievement-oriented. In contrast, the deeply rooted value-orientation of the Oriental immigrants - familism, personalism and traditionalism--were not conducive to effective functioning and advancement in a rapidly changing industrial society . . . . most of the groups arriving from the Islamic countries had become separated from their modern and intellectual elites . . . . Thus, they were lacking leaders to pave the way and guide them on the new road. A notable exception to this pattern were the Yemenites whose absorption was quite successful. . . . Along with the perception of success in absorbing immigrants from European countries and of lack of success with . . . groups from Islamic countries evolved the dichotomous labels and characterisations of the two multicultural categories . . . . The dichotomous characterization developed as European immigrants who made it in the system began to look down on the others as being responsible for the inferior conditions in which they found themselves. After all, went the rationalization, they all started from the same point. And the governing elite was largely oblivious to the phenomenon that was shaping up before their eyes, for their egalitarian ideology and rhetoric prevented them from perceiving the new reality." Heller, p. 319.

23. Lewis, pp. 3-5.

24. Heller, p. 315. Also, Henry Toledano, "Time to Stir The Melting Pot," in Israel: Social Structure and

Change, p. 335.

25. Shlomo Avineri, "Israel: Two Nations?" Israel: Social Structure and Change, pp. 286-287.

26. Ibid., p. 283, Heller, p. 315.

27. Ibid., p. 283. Also, see definition of Labour Zionism in Chapter 3.

28. This geographical isolation also constituted relative cultural insularity within their Moslem environment--an untypical situation for most other Oriental communities, as shall be seen later on in this chapter.

29. See different aspects of Yemenite education and family life in Chapter 5.

30. Avineri, Israel: Social Structure and Change, p. 286; Patai, p. 308; Abraham J. Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's & The Sabbath, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 37, 47-68, 75-109.

31. Avineri, Israel: Social Structure & Change, p. 287.

32. Patai, in Ibid., pp. 308-309.

33. Ibid., p. 309.

34. Yohanan Peres, Yehasei Edot Bey Israel (Ethnic Relations in Israel,) (Tel-Aviv: Sifriat Poalim Ltd., 1976), p. 42.

35. Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's & The Sabbath, pp. 34-35.

36. Peres, p. 192.

37. Ibid., pp. 192-193.

38. Ronen, p. 17.

39. Ibid., p. 17.

40. This intervention was rationalized by the adoption of the Biblical concept of "The Generation of the Desert," projected onto the new immigrants, parents of

school-aged children. In the Biblical account of the Israelite exodus from Egypt, Moses was commanded to weed out the Israelites who could not liberate themselves from the slave mentality, and let them die in the Sinai wilderness. This a priori, fatalistic attitude--labelling those Israelites a "lost generation"--was transferred to the new immigrants, hailing mainly from Moslem countries. Thus there was no point in investing any educational resources in them. Of course, this produced a serious "generation gap" which led to tragic familial and cultural alienation. However, since 1976, the Department of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture has belatedly attempted to rectify this error, with a surprisingly large measure of success.

41. Margaret Mead observes that ". . . as soon as there is any attitude that one set of cultural beliefs is definitely superior to another, the framework is present for active proselytizing . . . changing peoples' habits, ideas, language, beliefs, emotional allegiances--involves a sort of deliberate violence to other peoples' developed personalities, a violence not found in the whole teacher-child relationship, which finds its prototype in the cherishing parent helping the young child to learn those things which are essential to his humanity." Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 5, 9.

42. Ronen, p. 20.

43. If only 50% of the Ashkenazee pupils attain matriculation, then it would surely seem that the problem is not that of the 75% Mizrahee pupils who do not attain matriculation. Rather, the roots of the problem lie in the nature of the matriculation itself! If the matriculation curriculum is Western-oriented in content, and if only 50% of Western Jews succeed in attaining matriculation certificates, then it holds that the contents must be re-evaluated. When this is done, it might be well to find ways to integrate Mizrahee values and contents that all pupils must learn. This will increase the chances of the Mizraheem to attain matriculation and will enrich the Ashkenazeem in their knowledge of Mizrahee values, which might also help them (the Ashkenazeem) to transform their reality.

44. See footnote 7, above, which deals with the relationship between "achievement" and "competition."

45. This proves that all the good intentions of Ronen and the educational establishment are based on the naive assumption that only western values constitute the criterion of a good education; this, without even questioning why only 50% of Ashkenazee attain matriculation.

46. Ronen, p. 20.

47. There are two streams of elementary education, sponsored by the Government--secular and religious.

48. Ronen, p. 21.

49. Ackerman, Pelled, Lissak, Lipset, "Western and Oriental Culture in Israel." Israel: Social Structure and Change, pp. 397, 389, 363, 349.

50. Moshe Forte, Approaches in Parental Guidance to Narrow the Educational Gap (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, Martin Buber Center for Popular Education. Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Culture and Arts, Department of Adult Education, Israel Association for Adult Education, Iyunim Publication No. 9, 1978), pp. 19-41.

51. Heller, p. 326. Elad Pelled, the former Director-General of the Ministry of Education, does not agree with this contention. He believes that "The prevailing attitude in Israel today (1973) is that the Oriental segment of the population is not culturally-deprived and, consequently, attempts to derive special educational programs which are not aimed at what might be considered culturally rehabilitation. Indeed, it would be wrong to deprive or detach this population from its cultural background --a background which is quite rich. Rather, the approach adopted appreciates the differences in the civilizations of the developing areas whence this population originated and the civilization evolved in the Western industrial state which Israel emulates." p. 391b.

On the other hand, Prof. Frankenstein, although viewing "cultural deprivation" as "socially conditioned inferiority," is actually only defining "cultural deprivation more sophisticatedly and more subtlely. He declares that "the aim of integration through education and learning is: bridging the sociocultural gap between "dominant" and "inferior" groups, dominant or inferior in their ability effectively to use the culturally sanctioned tools of achievement . . . in the ability to compete successfully with members of the dominant group and to be recognized by them as equals . . . . In other words: in contrast to

the cultural pluralist with his bias for diversity and its value per se, we maintain that his tenets are valid only as instruments of understanding the essentials of the varieties of social and cognitive behaviour, that is, as instrument of diagnosis. Such diagnosis is of vital importance for any action aimed at restoring lost potentials in a way adapted to the individual's impairment. It follows, then, that the ultimate aim of social or educational action is unification, not diversity per see . . . . we regard socially conditioned inferiority as alterable. We can, therefore, properly evaluate group differences only after we have succeeded in restoring environmentally impaired potentials. . . . The range of culture-sanctioned achievements is wide enough, even in a society which is primarily method-and-abstraction-oriented, to allow a large number of individuals, different as they may be in their functional or attitudinal type, to reach position of status . . ." Carl Frankenstein, ed. Teaching as a Social Challenge, (Jerusalem: School of Education of the Hebrew University and the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976), pp. 141-144.

This stand places C. Frankenstein also, in the "extension" camp, again tipping the scales in the direction of Western-oriented values.

52. Maabarot were transition camps set up during the mass immigration of 1948-1952, made up of tents, quonset huts, etc.

53. "Standards of the fifties" usually constituted minimal quality housing projects, with an average of two small rooms for families with any number of children.

54. Avineri, Israel: Social Structure & Change, p. 301.

55. Heller points out that "crucial to the perpetuation of economic, power and prestige inequality from generation to generation is inequality in education. Educational achievement is the main source of occupational advancement in a bureaucratized industrial society." Heller, p. 323.

56. Toledano, p. 337.

57. Halevi, p. 38.

58. K.T. Erikson explains that ". . . most provisional

roles conferred by society . . . include some kind of terminal ceremony to mark the individual's movement back out of the role once its temporary advantages have been exhausted. But the roles allotted the deviant seldom make allowance for this type of passage . . . . It should not be surprising, then, that the people of the community are apt to greet the . . . deviant with a considerable degree of . . . distrust, for in a very real sense they are not at all sure who he is.

A circularity is thus set into motion which has all the earmarks of a self-fulfilling prophesy, to use Merton's fine phrase . . . it seems quite obvious that the community's apprehensions help reduce whatever changes the deviant might otherwise have for a successful return home . . . " K.T. Drikson, Wayward Puritans, (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 16, 17.

If Erikson's "deviant" becomes an "oleh" (immigrant) and "home" becomes "Israel," perhaps Bilsky's description of "a subjective feeling of deprivation" might better be understood. This feeling, undoubtedly created by the "self-fulfilling prophesy," is borne out by the results of several Israeli research projects in the field of inter-ethnic relations. A 1978 study indicated that ". . . All three types of sociometric questions--choice of friends, "stars," and isolates--consistently indicated that Western subjects preferred themselves and that Middle Eastern subjects preferred persons of Western background . . . . Low Western achievers assessed their own group more positively than did their high-achieving peers, while low-achieving Middle Easterners assessed their own group less positively than did their high-achieving peers. . . . The high-achieving Western subjects preferred members of their own ethnic group more than did low-achieving Westerners, while high achieving Middle Eastern subjects preferred members of their own ethnic group less than did low-achieving subjects of Middle Eastern background." Amir, Sharan, Ben-Ari, Biman) Human Relations, (V. 31, No. 2, 1978), pp. 107-108.

Moshe Forte (1978) quotes Feitelson, Klein and Eshel who "point to the damage done to the self image, and in its wake, also to the self-confidence, as the price paid by those who find themselves in inferior status . . . " Forte, referring to an evaluation research project carried out in the fourth and sixth grades of elementary school--dealing with personality changes such as the focus of

self-mastery, anxiety, self-image and learning motivation --came to the following conclusions: . . . Most of the teachers see in the child "in need of fostering" as one lacking interest in his studies; lacking self-confidence and fearing school failure; lacking the ability to pay attention and to concentrate; lacking imagination and industry in his studies, et al . . . "

It would seem that such Western-oriented teacher prejudice is totally wrong, at least in one area--the Mizrahee child's attitude towards his success in studies. Forte, quoting the very same research project, states that . . . the children of Asian-African origin attach more importance to high scholastic achievement than those of European-American origin (80% of the former as compared with 50% of the latter--in the 6th grade elementary school) . . . " Forte, p. 24.

Rina ben-Shaul, describing relations between veteran settlers in Beth-Shemesh and new Bukharian oleem, explains that ". . . it would seem that those same veteran settlers are ready to receive, with more understanding, the awarding of more privileges to academic oleem from affluent societies such as the U.S., and even Ashkenazeem from the U.S.S.R. However, their bitterness increases when the group constitutes new oleem to whom are attributed (by the veteran settlers) those same attributes which have been, and are still--to a great extent--attributed to them, themselves, by great portions of society. They see the Bukharian oleem as primitive, lacking learning and as originating from a land of retarded civilization. ben-Shaul, p. 83.

It should be quite clear now, after having read how, in different contexts, prejudice strengthens the "self-fulfilling prophesy," why Jews from Asia and Africa suffer from a "subjective feeling of deprivation." However, one more example must be brought here if the point is to be brought home--beyond any doubt. Henry Toledano--whose name identifies him as a Sephardic Jew--in his paper, "Time to Stir the Melting Pot," declares that . . . Integration is said to take place in Israel when a Tunisian Jew is drawn into a Hassidic dance (originating in Eastern Europe), or when a Morroccan rabbinic student grows peot (sideburns) . . . This was the process before 1948, and this is the process today."

Toledano obviously protests the total assimilation into Ashkenazee society of Mirahee Jews. He also explains

that: Israelis tend to blame the problems which beset Israeli society today on the backwardness of the Orientals. Undoubtedly there are objective factors contributing to this failure of absorption, such as the industrial and intellectual unpreparedness of some of the Jews who came from the Moslem lands for the highly industrial and technological Israeli society. And there is no doubt that some of these Jews from Eastern lands have had gaps in their education--I say education, not culture. However, some of the Egyptian, Iraqi, Moroccan and Algerian Jews had had a very fine French education, and no education can be more Western than that of the French." (stress added.)

Toledano, despite his attempt to distinguish culture from education, nevertheless sounds very apologetic, if not self-denigrating. But he gives himself away completely--two sentences further on--when he declares: "One simply cannot, for example, compare a Martin Buber to a Moroccan who comes from the caves; such a gap is unbridgeable . . . " Toledano, pp. 334-35.

Toledano, for the very reason that he is an intellectual, would seem to be the epitome and personification of all the factors mentioned above, and which he is attempting to correct. It is thus the aim of this thesis to raise the consciousness of such people . . . in order to transform their reality.

59. Refaela Bilsky, Welfare Policy in Israel, (Jerusalem: Publication Services, Ministry of Education, 1977), pp. 4-14.

60. Noah Gur-Ze'ev, The Welfare State. A Centennia Evaluation, (Jerusalem: The Israel Economist, March, 1981), pp. 26, 27. Ms. Gur-Ze'ev points out that ". . . The irony today, therefore, is that those who are in fact social welfare's most trenchant critics--the conservatives of all national stripes--should really be its most vociferous supporters . . . The Welfare State has indeed proved to be a profoundly conservative phenonemon. . . . Prof. H. Wilensky (Berkeley) provides data to explore conventional thonght. He notes that precisely those democratic nations which spent the most on social welfare from 1950 until the mid-1970s recorded the highest economic growth rates and the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation (e.g., Holland, Sweden, Norwav, etc.) Those with the least per capita social welfare expenditures (Great Britain and

especially the U.S.) had a far worse record. On this score, Israel comes out in the middle--relatively high rates of inflation (in large measure due to the extraordinary defense burden) but almost no unemployment." Gur-Ze'ev, p. 26.

61. Bilsky, p. 8.

62. Ibid., p. 9.

63. Ibid., p. 4.

64. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "Education as a Tool for Social Advancement," in Teaching as a Social Challenge, p. 132.

65. Shlomo Svirsky and Sara Katzir, "Ethnic Inequality--Pangs of Modernization," in Pitroneem (Solutions), (University of Haifa: Students' Council and the Sephardic Federation, 1979), p. 10.

66. The element of conformity can be traced back to Newton's Relativity Principle, formulated in 1687. "The motions of bodies included in a given space," he wrote, "are the same among themselves, whether that space is at rest or moves uniformly forward in a straight line." Lincoln Barnett, in The Universe and Dr. Einstein expanded the theme: ". . . mechanical laws which are valid in one place are equally valid in any other place which moves uniformly relative to the first."

These concepts of "uniformity" originally promulgated by Newton and Galileo in a purely scientific context, almost 300 years ago, gradually spread to all areas of life. They were reflected in scientific and technological conformity, and with the Industrial Revolution, augmented standardization of both products and thinking. In education, the English Common School became the "democratic leveller and instrument of conformity."

With increased technological automation on the one hand, and totalitarian political structures on the other, modern man became exposed, more and more, to monolithic value systems which both transcended and combined many disciplines. This phenomenon has been true in Western societies, inadvertently erasing many sets of values of minority cultures--especially non-scientific and non-technological ones. In Israel, too, where emulation of western values have been of first priority, the same

monolithic value structure has been imposed on non-Western Jews. Lincoln Barnett, Universe and Dr. Einstein, (New York: New American Library, 1957), p. 42-43.

67. Heller, pp. 320-321.

68. Eliezer Schweid, "The Changing Image of the Jewish People," Maariv, May 22, 1977, p. 50.

69. Note T.R. Williams' notion of "suspension of postulates and Jaspers' notion of Existenz, in Chapter 5.

70. Martin Buber, The Way of Response, ed. Nahum Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), pp. 156-157.

71. Compare Bilsky, already cited. The Bible, in several context literally paraphrases Freire (perhaps the converse is more accurate.) In Exodus, 22:20: "And a stranger you shall not oppress because you were stranger in the land of Egypt." Also see Ex. 23:9: Lev. 19:33-34. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), pp. 28-31.

72. Ibid., p. 52.

73. Avot I, 15.

74. Buber, p. 194.

75. Both Martin Buber and Paulo Freire provide definitions of "dialogue." Buber: ". . . the world and destiny became language for man only in partnership. Even when in a solitude beyond the range of call, the hearless word pressed against his throat, this word was connected with the primal possibility, that of being heard." Buber, Way of Response, p. 103.

"In genuine dialogue the turning to the partner takes place in all truth, that is, it is a turning of the being . . . but the speaker does not merely perceive the one who is present to him . . . , he receives him as his partner, and that means he confirms this other being, so far as it is for him to confirm . . . . Of course, such confirmation does not mean approval, but . . . by accepting him as my partner in genuine dialogue I have affirmed him as a person." Ibid., p. 105.

In "Sharing of Knowledge," Buber explains: Speech in its ontiological sense was at all times present wherever

men regarded one another in the mutuality of I and Thou . . . wherever one communicated to the other his own experience and supplemented it as from within, so that from now on his perceptions were set within a world as they had not been before. Ibid., p. 108.

In "Acceptance of Otherness," Buber stresses that "when two men inform one another of their basically different views about an object, each aiming to convince the other of the rightness of his own way of looking at the matter, everything depends . . . on whether each thinks of the other as the one he is, whether each, i.e., with all his desire to influence the other, nevertheless unreservedly accepts and confirms him in his being this man and in his being made in this particular way." Ibid., p. 112.

Compare Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed: "Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world . . . . Dialogue cannot exist in the absence of a profound love for the world and for men . . . If I do not love the world--if I do not love life--if I do not love men--I cannot enter into dialogue . . . . Dialogue further requires an intense faith in man, faith in his power to make and remake, to create and recreate, faith in his vocation to be more fully human . . . Whereas faith in man is an a priori requirement for dialogue, trust is established by dialogue . . . . Nor can dialogue exist without hope. Hope is rooted in men's incompletion, from which they move out in constant search --a search which can be carried out only in communion with other men. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 75-81.

76. See Ben-Zion Dinure's and Avineri's interpretations of modern Zionism, footnote 8 of this chapter.

Chapter II

1. Franklin Le Van Baumer, Main Currents of Western Thought, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970), p. 253.

2. Jacob L. Talmon, Origins of Totalitarian Democracy, (London: Mercury, 1961), pp. 29-31.

3. Crane Brinton, The Shaping of Modern Thought, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 25-26.

4. Ibid., p. 28.

5. Ibid., p. 33.

6. R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education, (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 28.

7. Brinton, pp. 25-26.

8. Ibid., p. 17.

9. William H. Werkmeister, Man and His Values, (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. 51.

10. Brinton, p. 98.

11. Jose Ortega y Gasset, Man and Crisis, (New York: Norton, 1958), p. 103.

12. Ibid., p. 103.

13. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "Decline of the West," Time, June 19, 1978, p. 33.

14. Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society, (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 338.

15. Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1969), pp. 145-146, 210-211.

16. Le Van Baumer, p. 253.

17. Brinton, pp. 144, 148. As Brinton notes, Herbert Spencer projected Darwin's Origin of the Species, an

essentially biological theory, onto social phenomena. His outlook was rationalistic but his personality structure was stamped by his evangelical background.

In his On Social Evolution, Spencer claimed that evolutionary change consisted of a process of differentiation. The degree of change depended on differences between societies: militant and industrial, simple and compound. Change was affected by mechanisms such as the adaptation to the environment, by men as individuals and by institutions, and the adaptation through Darwinian natural selection. He saw change as arising from relatively unmanipulatable, steadily evolving factors, rather than from structural constraints.

Collingwood adds another dimension--that of progress: "The mistake is to consider progress . . . as a diminution of the power of society and a corresponding increase in the power, the freedom, the judgment, the responsibility of the individual . . . through Herbert Spencer, the mistake has found its way into the social sciences and is doing a good deal ot impede a clear sight of the relation between civilized and uncivilized life . . . . As the individual gains in power, his social and political life gains in power, too . . . R. Collingwood, Essays in the Philosophy of History, (New York, Toronto, London, Sydney: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 119.

18. Talmon, Origins of Totalitarian Democracy, pp. 29-31. R.G. Collingwood, Essays in the Philosophy of History, pg. 119.

19. Ibid., p. 119.

20. Talmon, Political Messianism, (New York: Praeger, 1960), p. 85.

21. Ellul, p. 20.

22. Ibid., p. 41.

23. Ibid., p. 47. Ellul explains that "the optimistic atmosphere of the 18th century more than philosophy, created a favourable climate to the rise of technical applications. The fear of evil diminished. There was an improvement in manners, a softening of the conditions of war; an increasing of man's response for his fellows. A certain delight in life increased by improved living

conditions in nearly all classes but those of artisans; the building of fine houses in great numbers. These persuaded Europeans that progress was achieved only by the exploitation of natural resources and the application of scientific discoveries."

24. In his Lights of Return, Rabbi A. I. Kook explains that Repentance is not realized by fleeing from the world and from various areas of human experience. The creation of a new self, through return (to God, i.e., perfection) "exalts man above all the degradations to be found in the world. Nevertheless man does not become alien to the world; . . . he uplifts with himself the world and life." (Jerusalem: Hillel Press, 1978), p. 13. See also Collingwood, pp. 84, 86.

25. Ellul points out that "After the State, it was the bourgeoisie who discovered how much profit could be extracted from a consciously developed technique . . . This class put the interests of technique before the interests of individuals who had to be sacrificed in order that technique might progress . . . . As late as 1848, workers demanded suppression of machinery. Their standard of living had not risen, men still suffered from the loss of equilibrium caused by a too rapid injection of technology . . . . The peasants and workers bore all the hardships of technological advance without sharing the triumphs. However . . . Karl Marx rehabilitated technology in the eyes of the workers. He preached that technology can be liberating. Those who exploited it enslaved the workers, but that was the fault of the masters and not technology itself."

Ellul explains how religious morality succumbs to utility: "The regicide of Charles I by Cromwell gave the initial and primary impulse to social plasticity . . . The supreme value was productive and efficient labour which permitted the industrialists to rise high on the social ladder. The Puritans . . . exploded all prevailing religious taboos and developed a practical and utilitarian mentality that emphasized the use and even the exploitation of the good things of this world given by God to men. . . . The struggle between the landed and moneyed interests ended with the victory of the moneyed interests." Ellul, pp. 43, 53, 54, 56, 57.

26. G.W.F. Hegel, Reason in History, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976), pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

27. Ibid., p. xvi.

28. Ibid., pp. 52-53.

29. Ibid., p. xi.

30. Hegel, several sentences earlier, equates "we" with the Germans. He stresses that "only the Germanic peoples came, through Christianity, to realize that man is free . . . " This emphasis plus his grading of freedom-conscious nations, would seem to make him--consciously or subconsciously--suspect to racist tendencies. Ibid., p. 24.

31. Ibid., pp. xxxix-xl.

32. Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in the Age of Reconstruction, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954), p. 46.

33. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. 94.

34. Talmon, Political Messianism, pp. 15-17.

35. Erich Fromm, Psychoanalysis & Religion, (New York: Bantam Books, 1950), p. 6.

36. Ellul, p. 353.

37. Richard W. Burns and Gary D. Brooks, eds., Curriculum Design in a Changing Society, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Pub., 1970), pp. 107-108.

38. Roszak continues in this vein: "I am here only as a temporary observer whose role is to stand back and record and later to make my own sense of what you seem to be doing or intending . . . I am not particularly interested in what you uniquely are; I am interested only in the general pattern to which you conform. I assume I have the right to use you to perform this process of classification. I assume I have the right to reduce all that you are to an integer in my science. (stress added)

"At the extreme, this alienated relationship is that of the Nazi physician experimenting upon his human victims, learning interesting new things about pain, suffering, privation . . . ." Roszak, pp. 222-223.

39. Burns and Brooks, p. 120.

40. Louise S. Spindler, Cultural Change and Modernization, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1977), p. 92.

41. Ibid., pp. 92-93. Spindler notes another use of behavioural analyses; she refers specifically to the impact of modernization on the Polynesian personality: "One conclusion drawn by the Graves' is that the Cook Islanders are taking on Western personality characteristics (i.e., rivalrous attitudes) not as a deliberate adoption but despite themselves as a byproduct of their efforts to become modern. And it was documented that Western schooling played a central role in this process." Ibid., pp. 94-95.

42. Ellul, pp. 354-355, 377-379.

43. Joseph Featherstone, "Rousseau and Modernity," Daedalus (Summer, 1978), p. 168.

44. Seymour M. Lipset, "The Israeli Dilemma," in Israel: Social Structure and Change, p. 350.

45. Although Andre Maurois, in his Histoire de la France (1960), states that "Rousseau represented the stand against rationalism," Prof. Y. Praver in his Historical Lexicon (1963) states that Rousseau demanded the liberation of education from the influence of the Christian Churches and preached for a deistic religion based on rational assumptions. (Maurois, p. 198; Hebrew edition; Praver, p. 1303; Hebrew, Vol. II)

James L. Jarrett, in The Humanities and Humanistic Education stressed that "J.J. Rousseau was at once a child of the Enlightenment and a father of Romanticism . . . . His Emile was an attempt to show how a child might conceivably be rescued from . . . a corrupt society, by taking him away from its manners and morals . . . to observe nature and trust his own feelings.

Jarret also states that "There are indisputable (but --also many disputable) assertions about influences, such as that of Hume and Rousseau on Kant, et al . . . " James L. Jarrett, Humanities and Humanists Education, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1973), pp. 36, 42.

46. Lawrence Kohlberg and R. Mayer, "Development as Aim of Education," Harvard Educational Review, v. 42 no. 4,

1972, p. 453.

47. Ibid., p. 453.

48. Talmon, Political Messianism, pp. 20-23.

49. Kohlberg, p. 455.

50. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 98.

51. Burns and Brooks, pp. 206-208.

52. Chaim Adler, Comparative Education Review, Feb., 1974, p. 15.

53. Elad Pelled, "Education: The Social Challenge," in Israel: Social Structure and Change, pp. 393-394.

54. Avraham Stahl, Mizug Tarbuti Beyisrael (Cultural Synthesis in Israel), p. 9.

55. Fromm, p. 5.

56. Abraham Heschel, The Sabbath - Its Meaning for Modern Man, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 3-8. See Freire's treatment of same concept in Pedagogy, p. 73.

57. Mark Terry, Teaching for Survival, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), pp. 36-37.

58. Ibid., p. 40.

59. Oswald Spengler, Man and Technics, (New York: Knopf, 1963), pp. 84-85.

60. Collingwood, pp. 111, 112, 105.

61. Leo Marx, "Reflections on the Neo-Romantic Critique of Science," Daedalus (Spring, 1978), p. 62.

62. Collingwood, p. 107.

63. Featherstone, p. 167.

64. Ibid., p. 169.

65. Marx, p. 62.

66. J. Bronowski, Science and Human Values, (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 63, 64, 60, 67.

67. Marx, p. 65.

68. Ibid., p. 64.

69. Ibid., p. 63.

70. Ibid., p. 71.

71. Ibid., p. 68.

72. Ibid., p. 71.

73. Bronowski, p. 64.

74. Ibid., p. 62.

75. Collingwood, p. 114.

76. Bronowski, p. 58.

77. Spindler, pp. 83-84.

78. Collingwood, p. 84.

79. Bronowski, p. 4.

80. It is very significant that Bronowski does not mention the German Holocaust. Where is his "scientific" and "empirical" truth?

Chapter III

1. Salo Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1964), Vol. I, pp. 4, 10.

2. Heschel, The Sabbath, pp. 3-8.

3. Talmon, Political Messianism, pp. 15-17, 20-23.

4. Huston Smith, The Religions of Man, (New York: Harpers and Row, 1965), p. 266.

5. Ibid., pp. 266-67.

6. Licht and Neher, "Jewith Ethics," in Jewish Values, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishers, 1974), ed. Geoffrey Wigoder, pp. 133, 135.

7. Simon Federbush, The Jewish Concept of Labor, (New York: Torah Culture Dept. of Jewish Agency, 1956), p. 9.

8. Schwarzchild, Jewish Values, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishers, 1974), p. 195.

9. Ellul discusses the complete separation of thought and action in Ellul, p. 425.

10. Fromm, pp. 67-67. Freire believes that "the goal of all developmental change is to transform people, not merely to change structures." Education for Critical Consciousness, p. xiii. He also states that "action and reflection occur simultaneously . . . critical reflection is also action." Pedagogy, p. 123.

11. Theodore Roszak, Where the Easteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Postindustrial Society (New York: Anchor, 1973), pp. 122-123.

12. Faur, Bacon and Rabinowitz, Jewish Values, (Jerusalem, Keter Publishers, 1974), p. 57.

13. Kurzweil, The Fight for Jewish Values, (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1968), p. 245.

14. Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends, p. 113.

15. Roszak, The Making of a Counter-Culture, p. 239.

16. Ibid., p. 239.

17. Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends, pp. 122-123.

18. "And the Lord of hists shall be exalted in judgment, and the holy God shall be sanctified by (displaying his) righteousness." Isiah, 5:16.

19. Levine and Schweid, Jewish Values, p. 117. Going beyond the above commandment -- forbidding the oppression of the 'stranger' -- the Mishna reflects its attitude to the 'enemy,' in the words of Shmuel, The Little One: "When your enemy falls, do not rejoice, and if he falters, your heart must not be happy." Avot 4:24.

20. Heschel's view of the Sabbath seems to "speak" to modern man, when he points out that "Judaism is a religion of time aiming at the sanctification of time . . . to be attached to sacred events, to learn how to consecrate sanctuaries that emerge from the magnificent stream of a year. The Sabbaths are our great cathedrals; and our Holy of Holies is a shrine that neither the Romans nor the Germans were able to burn . . . . While the festivals celebrate events that happened in time, the date of the month assigned for each festival in the calendar is determined by the life in nature. . . . In contrast, the Sabbath is entirely independent of the month and unrelated to the moon. Its date is not determined by any event in nature, such as the new moon, but by the act of creation. Thus the essence of the Sabbath is completely detached from the world of space.

The meaning of the Sabbath is to celebrate time rather than space. Six days a week we live under the tyranny of things of space; on the Sabbath we try to become attuned to holiness in time. It is a day on which we are called upon to share in what is eternal in time, to turn from the results of creation to the mystery of creation; from the world of creation to the creation of the world." Heschel, The Sabbath, pp. 8, 10.

A Talmudic anecdote tells how a non-believer challenged Hillel to explain the whole Torah while standing balanced on one foot. Hillel replied that the essence of the entire Torah was "Do not do to your fellow-man

what is hateful to you--the rest is commentary." He then told the man to "go and learn." The ordinances mentioned appear in Leviticus 19: 1-37; 20: 1-18.

21. Editors, Jewish Values, p. 147.

22. Mordecai Kaplan explains "The Sanctification of God's Name" in two ways. He explains that "by dying for an ideal, the martyr makes death itself affirm the value of life and its power to cast off the evils that make life in the present intolerable under the yoke of oppression and persecution. By defying death, the martyr deprives evil of its deadliest weapon, the power of intimidation. Let none compare the suicide with the martyr. The suicide welcomes death because he hates the world and cannot find God in it; the martyr, because he loves the world and finds complete self-fulfillment in carrying out the will of God, though it involves his own destruction as an individual . . .

The role of the martyr in history is significant from yet another angle. Not only does it represent the sanctification of life in defiance of death, but it also points to the assertion of individual faith against social pressure . . . as expressed in . . . authoritative institutions . . . the dominion of arbitrary power . . . " Mordecai Kaplan, The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion, (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1937), pp. 117-118.

23. H. Smith, pp. 259-261.

24. Simon Federbush, The Jewish Concept of Labor, (New York: Torah Culture Department of the Jewish Agency, 1956), p. 32.

25. Ibid., p. 34.

26. Ibid., p. 34.

27. Ibid., p. 35.

28. Ibid., pp. 15-18.

29. Exodus 35: 30-35. Ellul stresses that in technical society "man has lost contact with . . . the basic materials out of which he makes what he makes." Ellul, p. 325. Thus the Torah's values are adoptable today, too.

30. Federbush, p. 17.

31. The Tanaim were teachers. It is the name given to the Rabbis during the period which closed with the codification of the Mishnah (200 C.E.) The Amoraim were speakers, expounders. They were the exponents of the Gemara (completion), the commentary on the Mishnah--between the third and fifth centuries in Babylon and Palestine. Federbush, pp. 22, 31, 27.

32. Ibid., p. 1.

33. Karl Marx from Das Kapital, as quoted in Brian V. Hill, Education and The Endangered Individual, (New York: Dell, 1973), p. 105.

34. Federbush, p. 19.

35. Hill, p. 77.

36. Ellul, p. 54.

37. Federbush, p. 2.

38. Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

39. Numbers 26: 53, 54.

40. Federbush, p. 4.

41. From Doellinger's Heidentum un Judentum, quoted in Federbush, p. 5.

42. Federbush, pp. 9-11.

43. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

44. Ibid., p. 10.

45. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, pp. 47-48.

46. Avot 3:21.

47. Tractate Kiddushin, 47.

48. One of the requirements for dialogical learning, according to Freire, is "faith in man." Pedagogy,

p. 79. Thus, according to Bergman's definition of Jewish religious faith, "the ability to listen," is another dimension of faith.

49. Samuel Hugo Bergman, Faith and Reason, (New York: Hillel, 1966), p. 13.

50. Roszak, Wasteland, p. 112.

51. Melvin Alexenberg, "Toward an Integral Structure Through Science and Art," in Main Currents in Modern Thought, vol. 30, No. 4, March-April, 1974, p. 146.

52. Avot 4:1.

53. Ibid., 6:3.

54. Ibid., 4:15.

55. Ibid., 2:9.

56. First Kings 3:5-15; 9. This stress on learning and search for wisdom--moral wisdom--is a link in the long chain of search and discovery, from Abraham to Moses to Solomon to future generations. The realm of teaching is located within the context of God and his Torah. The realm of learning is located within the context of man--whether he be monarch or peasant. Thus, the extrication of absolute knowledge from God through man, democratizes man's relationship with his fellow man since all men have equal access to the Torah's teachings. These teachings essentially provide man with the choice of selecting good or evil in judging their own actions. The Monarch, too, has this choice with regard to judging his people. Therefore, learning is discerning good and evil within the context of action within reality, based on the perennial rediscovery and reinterpretation of the divine teachings within the situational context of acted-upon reality.

57. Numbers 11:27.

58. Ibid., 11:29.

59. Deuteronomy, 31:11-13.

60. Dubnov, 1958; Galtzer, 1969.

61. Jewish Values, pp. 264-270.

62. Shmuel Safrai, Jewish History Unitl 1880, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishers, 1973), pp. 264-270.

63. Avot, 3:12.

64. Ibid., 1:15.

65. Deuteronomy, 6:4-9.

66. Hill, p. 253.

67. Tractate Sanhedreen, 4:5.

68. Amos 9:7.

69. Isiah 56:7.

70. Micah 4:1-5.

71. Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's, p. 42.

72. Menahem HaCohen, Mahanayim, (The Israel Defense Army, the Chief Military Rabbinate, 1969), pp. 12-20). "The conditions of life in the Diaspora and Exile, and the fact that the Jewish People were separate from the nations brought about the creation of movements longing for redemption and the revival of national life - all this found deep expression in Messianic thought in Judaism and in the Messianic movement that arose down through the ages . . . . There were national and Messianic movements, movements advocating more stringent morality that injected life and spirit into the people, and became popular religious and national movements."

Rabbi Shlomo Goren thinks "There are two Messianic ideas in Judaism. One is universal, and is known in the Torah and Prophets as "The End of Days." This era is to envelop not only Israel but the entire world. The second idea is known as "Messianic Times," and this is a national one. It also refers to the Messiah as a personality--exemplary and ideal. These two messianic ideas are not dependent on one another--even though they may overlap, timewise. The time-oriented Messianic era derives from a process of universal advancement of humanity towards the goal of the ultimate good. The personal Messiah, in the person of the son of David--a spiritualidea pre-dating the world . . . . This idea derives from supernatural, metaphysical forces, therefore it was not created with nature,

and is not dependent on the laws of nature. That is the unique characteristic of the Regal Messiah--that he will operate with supernatural powers. According to Maimonides, during the period of the Regal Messiah Israel will be ingathered, and will relate to him in the Holy Spirit . . . " Ibid., p. 12.

According to Maimonides, the final aim of Redemption is as follows: "Messianic Days are not destined to rule the world or other nations, and not to eat and drink and be merry but that men could be free to study Torah and wisdom . . . . And at that time, there will be no hunger, no war, no jealousy and no competition; because the "good" will be plentiful . . . and the entire world will have nought to do except to know God . . . ." Ibid., p. 20.

73. Max Dimont, The Indestructible Jews, (New York: Signet, 1972), p. 310.

74. Ibid., pp. 309-310.

75. See "ethical Jewish values" earlier in this chapter.

76. Avineri, Varieties of Zionist Thought, p. 50.

77. Karl Marx from German Ideology, quoted in Hill, p. 71.

78. Simon Noveck, ed., Great Jewish Thinkers of the 20th Century, B'nai Brith Great Book Series, V. 3, Washington, D.C.: 1963), pp. vii-ix; H.W. Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, (New York: Dell, 1958), p. 203.

79. This phenomenon was not limited to the Jews in Europe. Africans, too, in the quest for upward mobility, had to pay a similar price. See "ambivalence" of Mugo Gatheru later in this chapter. The phrase means "Jewish (rational renaissance." See also Lucy Dawidowicz, The Golden Tradition, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 16-17.

80. This idea apparently originated with Diderot who wrote in his famous Encyclopedia that "the philosopher must prepare minds so that the theologian may more easily enlighten and convince them."

81. Dawidowicz, p. 17.

82. Voltaire, from the Correspondence, quoted in Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1968), p. 285.

83. Ibid., p. 285.

84. See Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's, pp. 28-29. He holds the opposite view.

85. Hertzberg, French Enlightenment and the Jew, pp. 329-332.

86. Ibid., p. 295. Pastoret maintained that even though Christianity was superior to all faiths because it had been universalized by all practices related to local cultures and traditions, Judaism and its believers were not outside culture.

87. Ibid., pp. 293-294.

88. Peamim, "Studies in the Cultural Heritage of Oriental Jewry, 1, (Spring, 1979), p 57.

89. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

90. Yehudah Nini (Jerusalem: Shazar Library, 1979), pp. 18-19.

91. Ibid., p. 35.

92. Michael Abutbul, (Jerusalem: Shazar Library, 1979), pp. 34-35.

93. Ibid., p. 36.

94. Cremie, the founder of the network of Alliance schools, was a French Jew who assisted Oriental Jewry in many ways. Abutbul perceives him as understanding the "emancipatory values."

95. Peamim, No. 2, 1979, p. 65.

96. Dawidowicz, p. 15.

97. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

98. Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's, pp. 25, 26, 31, 33, 36.

99. Haim Ben-Sasson, Peamim, "Studies in the Cultural Heritage of Oriental Jewry, 1, (Spring, 1979), pp. 85-88.

100. Ibid., pp. 88-90.

101. Y. Heinemann, J. Gutmann, et al, eds. Anti-Semitism, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 26-27.

102. Ibid., p. 26.

103. Sachar, p. 201.

104. Ibid., p. 202.

105. Ibid., pp. 204, 203.

106. Avineri, Varieties of Zionist Thought, pp. 25, 28, 34.

107. Sachar, pp. 206, 207.

108. Ibid., pp. 207, 208.

109. Ibid., pp. 209, 210.

110. Ibid., p. 212.

111. Ibid., pp. 211-213; 219.

112. Avineri, Varieties, p. 13; Sachar, p. 265, 266; The Book of Holidays, (Tel Aviv, Am Oved Publ., 1973), pp. 2, 35, 77, 127, 167, 283, 303, 328, 343, 346, 412.

113. Sachar, pp. 266-267.

114. Hertzberg, pp. 18, 71, 76.

115. Ibid., pp. 82-83; Avineri, Varieties, pp. 49, 59.

116. Hertzberg, pp. 135, 136; Avineri, Varieties p. 90.

117. Bilu is a contraction of the Biblical phrase, "Bet Yaacov Lechu Vinelkha" (House of Jacob, Go and Let Us

Ascend). These young Maskeeleem consciously emasculated the last two words of this line, "in the Light of God." It was an obvious demonstration of their rejection of religious values.

118. Sachar, pp. 268-269.

119. Hertzberg, Zionism, p. 25.

120. All the material describing the historical process leading to Zionism is based on Hertzberg, pp. 45-51, Sachar, pp. 202-220 and Cecil Roth, A Short History of the Jewish People, (London: East and West Library, 1969), pp. 375-413.

121. The concept of Charter--a document endowed by a power outside the Jewish People--was indicative of a Zionist dependency on the good-will of great powers and international organizations down through the days of the Jewish State. Several examples: the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the U.N. Resolution for a Jewish State in 1947, et al. Thus, in the context of Freirian terms of "playing host-to-the-oppressor," it is doubtful if Zionism, and later the leadership of Israel, ever really left the Naive Stage.

122. Hertzberg, Zionism, pp. 28-34; Sachar, p. 280; Avineri, Varieties, pp. 161, 166.

123. Noveck, p. 58.

124. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

125. Ibid., pp. 61, 62, 65, 66.

126. Ibid., p. 70.

127. Ibid., pp. 31-43.

128. Hertzberg, Zionism, pp. 307-308.

129. Ibid., pp. 419, 420, 425.

130. Noveck, pp. 73, 79, 80, 86, 87, 92, 93; Avineri, Varieties, p. 221.

131. Avineri, Varieties, p. 188.

132. Ibid., p. 195.

133. Ibid., p. 207.

134. Ibid., pp. 210-213. It is interesting to note that Menahem Begin, Jabotinsky's disciple during their Revisionist days, as Prime Minister in 1981, affected an American-Israeli "strategic understanding" using the very reasons that Jabotinsky advocated--vis a vis the British--to justify it.

Paradoxically, Begin's extremely pro-Western orientation did not deter the majority of Mizraheem to vote for him in the 1981 elections. This phenomenon was attributed by many commentators in Israel to their perception of the "Ashkenazee" Labour Party as having continued to constitute the Establishment during the first four years of Begin's Government--thus casting a protest vote. However, another plausible explanation is possible. The Mizraheem, by identifying with the Western "oppressor," naively believed that their rights would be fully recognized if they would support Menahem Begin. See William Smith's elaboration of this view, in his The Meaning of Conscientizacao: The Goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy, (University of Mass., Center for International Education, 1976), pp. 43, 53-55. Also, Paulo Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 91-109; 29, 30, 32, 33, 49-51.

135. Despite Ben-Gurion's ultimate, pragmatic, partial acceptance of Jabotinsky's military and political programs, the Revisionist leader's stress on this platform brought him into conflict with the Zionist Organization's leadership as far back as the 1920s. This was caused by the stand taken by the Zionist Labour movement which advocated dense Jewish settlement in Palestine.

The final break between Jabotinsky and this leadership came in 1925 when he established the "Revisionist Zionist Organization." In 1935, going even further, he and his movement "seceded" from the Zionist Organization and set up "The New Zionist Organization."

The immediate cause for this rift was Jabotinsky's uncompromising demand for a Jewish state. Thus, although his yearning for cooperation with England did not materialize, his military and political programs were, indeed, realized--albeit, in large measure, by others. His Western orientation world-view also struck roots in the country. Avineri, Varieties, pp. 211-215.

136. Sachar, p. 270.

137. Yael Dayan, "The Heritage is Here," Pitroneem, No. 1, Students Press, University of Haifa, 1979, p. 30.

138. The Balfour Declaration was announced by Lord Arthur Balfour in 1917 promising the Jewish People a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, sponsored by the British Government.

Benjamin Akzin, Hevdelei Yesod Begilooyei Hitbollelut Bitkufah Habetar Emantsyipatsionit veHaeedan Hanochachee (Assimilation in the post-emancipation period) (Jerusalem: Shazar Library, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1979), p. 19.

139. Ibid., p. 20.

140. Ibid., p. 21, 22.

141. Ibid., p. 23, 24.

142. He defines Rationalism in this way: "We know the Mental-Rational Structure best as the epistomelogical foundation of perspective painting and Newtonian physics. It places objects in a three-dimensional space, and describes them in terms of the Cartesian coordinate system. It establishes a duality between man and the object. The object occupies its own unique space; it exists outside of man and can be objectively perceived and represented. The . . . Structure arises from a visual mode of perception from light waves traveling in with the one-dimensional space of the Magical Structure and the two-dimensional, audial space of the Mythological Structure; space in the Mental-Rational Structure is three dimensional . . .

Time in the Mental-Rational Structure is uni-dimensional, uni-directional and linear . . . . Time flows from the past through the present and into the future as a single, linear, irreversible continuum. This . . . is segmented into equidistant units of time. Objects moving along this track . . . increase in entropy, in disorder, and in probability of disintegration. Man sees himself as one of these objects, and becomes obsessed with stopping the flow of time which leads to his death. His art and science attempt to immortalize the moment, to preserve a cross-section of the track . . . . The aesthetics of

the Mental-Rational mentality is that of ancient Greece, renewed in Renaissance Europe. Alexenberg, pp. 146-147.

143. Ibid., p. 18.

144. Freire himself uses stage progression: "Naive transitivity is the consciousness of men . . . in whom the developing capacity for dialogue is still fragile . . . . If this consciousness does not progress to the stage of "critical transitivity," it may be deflected by sectarian irrationality into fanaticism.' Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 18. (stress added).

145. In his Pedagogy, Freire writes: ". . . as they separate themselves from the world which they objectify . . . men overcome the situations which limit them: the "limit-situation," p. 89.

He stresses that "The difference between animals--who (because their activity does not constitute limitacts) cannot create products detached from themselves--and men --who through their action upon the world create the realm of culture and history--is that only the latter are beings of praxis . . . the praxis which, as the reflection and action which truly transform reality, is the source of knowledge and creation." Ibid., pp. 90-91.

146. William Smith, p. 43.

147. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 52.

148. Ibid., p. 48. Alexenberg explains the Magical structure of consciousness similarly to Freire, but he adds another dimension to its meaning when he points out that "The Magical Structure has a one-dimensional morphology in which consciousness and the world are one . . . Magical man lives in a spaceless and timeless condition in which each point . . . may derive from any other point independent of any rational causal nexus. He is one of these points, equal to all other points in nature and therefore interchangeable . . . . Time in the Magical Structure is experienced as discrete event modules, each complete in itself and unconnected to any other. The Oriental child frequently feels that things happen to him without any reason; he often cannot see the relationship between one event in his life and another. . . . This in turn makes him prone to surrender responsibility for his actions to events and objects outside himself, thereby falling into an egoless state of interconnectedness with

unknowable nature controlled by magical forces. Alexenberg, p. 147.

149. Ibid.,p. 51.

150. Ibid., p. 52.

151. Ibid., p. 52.

152. Ibid., p. 13.

153. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 18.

154. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

155. R. Mugo Gatheru, Child of Two Worlds: A Kikuyu Story, (London: Routledge and Paul, 1964), p. 36.

156. William Smith, p. 53.

157. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 29-30.

158. In 1965, as part of a constant search to narrow the educational gap, the Knesset (Israel Parliament) formed the Praver Committee. It was asked to investigate the ways and means of extending the Compulsory Education Act through the ninth grade. The Committee brought back positive recommendations, conditioned on the following stipulations: 1) changing the school system, replacing the 8-vear elementary school and 4-year high school framework with a 6-3-3 year arrangement; 2) the formulation of new curricula for the proposed 3-year "middle school" made up of the 7th, 8th and 9th grades; 3) the development of new teacher-training programs geared to the new curricula.

The Knesset Education Committee approved of these proposals and added the following recommendations: 1) the 3-year "middle school" and the 3-year "upper school" (grades 10, 11 and 12) be joined in a six-year comprehensive school; 2) all students completing six years of elementary school be guaranteed admission to the "middle school," and that its graduates be automatically admitted to the "upper school;" 3) the scope of free and compulsory education cover the 14-15 year old age group by 1972, and the 15-16 year old age group by 1975. (Actually, all secondary education became free and compulsory in 1978).

The main purpose of the reform--through the creation of the "middle school"--was the integration of students from different economic, ethnic and social backgrounds. The new program was implemented in the Fall of 1968, with the establishment of eight "middle school" units. By 1974, 145 were set up. Then, approximately 50% of all 7th grade students had been enrolled in this new framework. Ackerman, "Reforming" Israel Education," in Israel: Social Structure and Change, pp. 399-406.

Since only about three "generations" of students have passed through this new structural process, there are no conclusive results. However, the topic is still controversial.

159. Of course, this "sorting" derived from the Israeli educational establishment's approach about the inability of Oriental children to think abstractly.

160. David Harman, "Pre-academic Education," reprinted from Life-long Education in Israel, (Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 1972), p. 110. Also, Facts About Israel, (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 167. In 1977, this increased to 17%.

161. See Heschel, The Earth is the Lord's, for a positive image of Jewish life and values as lived out by East European Jewry.

162. Melford E. Spiro, Children of the Kibbutz, (New York: Schocken, 1965), pp. 386-7, 399, 425, 454, 457.

163. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 58, 73.

164. Shmuel Eisenstadt, Rivkah Bar-Yosef and Hayim Adler, eds., Integration and Development in Israel, (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 427.

165. Report of the U.S. NEA (National Education Association) Delegation Visit to Israel, as guest of the Israel Teachers' Union, 1975, p. 23.

166. Moshe Avidor, Education in Israel, (Jerusalem: Youth and Hechalutz Dept., Jewish Agency, 1957), p. 74. Since 1957, when this book was written, the hierarchy has weakened and principals have more autonomy in Public (State-run) schools. But basically the structure has

remained the same. As has been mentioned above, an important change has been the implementation of free and compulsory secondary education. Discussing the breakdown of Israeli-Jewish education, Yitzhak Schor explains: "Over and above the broad autonomy which the (State Education) Law grants to the State-Religious division, the Kibbutz movement, too, employs syllabuses which are not wholly identical--and that is an understatement--with the prescribed State curriculum. . . each Kibbutz movement has its own autonomous Education Department. The rationale behind the independent existence of these educational divisions is that of different ways of life--the religious, or the Kibbutz way of life. . . . the Agudat Israel orthodox religious movement, whose leaders have chosen not to take full advantage of the budgetary support offered by the Government, preferring to preserve a maximum of self-rule . . . therefore . . . the Agadut Israel division will receive only 85% of its actual outlay from State funds and retain the autonomy that it wishes.

In 1970/71, 66.5 percent of all pupils were within State . . . schools, including those in Kibbutz schools; 27.2 percent in State-Religious and 6.3 percent in Agudat Israel schools." Yitzhak Schor, Education for a Growing Nation, (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 1972), p. 28.

167. Noah Nardi, Education in Palestine, (New York: Z.O.A., 1945), pp. 200-201.

168. The writer of this study participated in many of these programs with Oriental children, as one of the Directors of Jerusalem Youth Centers. The adolescents rejected and ridiculed classical music. They only wanted American "rock" and jazz. Although very much tied to Oriental and Arabic music, they felt inhibited if asked to play, sing or even listen to it on the radio. The more they were exposed to Western music, the more they repressed their own cultural background. On the other hand, they could not genuinely believe--even upon seeing and hearing--that the writer, although of Western origin, enjoyed singing, dancing and listening to Oriental songs, dances and music.

Since 1976, there has been some modification of cultural intervention in such enrichment programs described here. The stress is now on "ethnic" enrichment, but only for Mizraheem to enhance their pride and self-image. The Ashkenazeem are only passively and marginally exposed to such enrichment via the media. Thus, the concept of

"cultural dialogue" still has not taken root.

169. Ministry of Information, Facts About Israel, (Jerusalem: 1976), pp. 149-167.

170. Jacob Katz, Dispersion and Unity (Jerusalem: World Zionist Org., 1973-74), pp. 133-134.

171. Ibid., p. 134.

172. Bob Suzuki, Description of (Multicultural Curriculum) Course, University of Massachusetts, School of Education, Spring,1975.

Perhaps this definition should be modified as follows: ". . . through the integration into the total curriculum of the cultural heritages, experiences and perspectives of the various ethnic groups . . . for students from all ethnic origins--whether in the minority or dominant culture . . . "

In the Israel reality, this would take into account the Ashkenazeem, too. For they, too, are "culturally-deprived"--deprived of their own, brothers' cultural values, a nuance of their own. In this way, a multicultural curriculum would encourage and also produce, dialogical interaction and a vastly richer, reflecting (thus dynamic) civilization. In Israel, this would also include Arab (Moslem and Christian), Druze, et al minority cultures. However, this topic is not within the paramaters of this study.

173. Shlomo Gonen, Haim Messing, Yosef Alkoni, Yisrael 25 Shana-Yedion 1973, (Israel 25 Years; 1973 Yearbook), p. 49.

174. Ibid., p. 49.

175. Sachar, pp. 551-552. Sachar represents Western ethnocentricity, taking upon himself (perhaps unconsciously) the defense of Western civilization against the inroads of a "backward" culture. This could be termed, in the spirit of Freire's stages of consciousness, "Inverse Fanatical Consciousness" or "The Defensive Fanatical Stage of the Oppressor."

176. Peres, p. 192.

177. Amir, Sharan, et al, "Assymetry, Academic Status, Differentiation, and the Ethnic Perceptions and Preferences of Israeli Youth," in Human Relations, v. 31, no. 2, 1978, pp. 99-116, 106.

178. Ibid., p. 108.

179. Ibid., pp. 114-115.

180. Y. Katsir, Ed., Sephardi World, (Jerusalem: Dept. for Zionist and Social Activity among Sephardi and Oriental Communities, 1981), p. 6.

181. Although this area of research is almost uninvestigated, recent Mizrahee-consciousness has unearthed several significant figures and personalities. Reuven Kashani tells of Rabbi Menahem Halevi (1904-1940) from Iran, who set up two Zionist groups, the names of which are reminiscent of their earlier, European counterparts. One was called "Hovev YeShurun" (The Lover of Yeshurun) and the other, "Meorer Yesheneem" (The Awaker of the Sleeping). A prolific writer, Halevi left a monumental manuscript at the time of his death called: "The History of the Persian Jews from Talmudic Times to this Day." BaMaaracha, (Jerusalem, 1980), p. 11.

North African Jews "ascended" (immigrated) to Jerusalem as far back as 1218. In 1541, Yitshak bar-Mussa, a Jerusalemite of Moroccan origin writes: "You should know that the Jewish Quarters in Jerusalem are the best of all the Jewish neighbourhoods . . . and so if you want to come, come!--for Palestine is not far (from Morocco), just one month and seven days."

Rabbi Hayim Ben-Attar, an important Biblical commentator and Rabbi David Ben Shimon both set personal examples by emigrating to Palestine in the 18th and 19th centuries, respectively. The latter set up the first Jewish neighbourhood outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem--"Mahane Yisrael"--in 1868.

Stressing the importance of Aliyah (immigration) to the Land of Israel, several Jewish-Moroccan Rabbis "legislated" communal laws permitting either the husband or wife to sacrifice family unity, if necessary, in order to reach the Holy Land. (It is interesting to note that despite the patriarchal nature of the Moroccan-Jewish family, these "communal permits" demonstrated unusual equality of the sexes.) In the early 18th century, three Rabbis from Morocco--Yaakov Even-Tsur, Yehuda ben-Attar and Shalom

Edrai--handed down a decision that if the husband wanted to ascend to Palestine and his wife refused, he should try to convince her. If after that, she still refused, he could divorce her.

In the 19th century the Rabbis--Moshe Elbaz, Matityahu ben-Zichri and Yekutiel Elbaz--declared that a woman was permitted to ascend to Palestine with her children despite her husband's refusal. Avraham Stahl, "Outline History of Moroccan Jewry," Israel Information Services, Jerusalem, 1978, pp. 4, 6, 7.

Other exampels of Oriental Jewish leadership in this vein can be provided--from Iraq, Georgia, Afghanistan, et al--but room does not permit.

182. Apparently, there have been no conclusive studies on the problem of "abstraction." However, both Frankenstein, in Between Past and Future, and Banks and Joyce, eds., in Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children, (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1971), all strongly reject the notion that the ability to abstract is correlated to culturally-based environments.

In the former book, see the chapter on "How to Develop Abstract Thinking in . . . Oriental Children," pp. 291-316. In the latter book, see chapters on "Innate Intelligence: An Insidious Myth?" and "I.Q.: God-given or Man-made?," pp. 90-104.

183. Israeli correspondent of the Jewish Weekly News (of Western Mass. and Connecticut), Sept. 18, 1975.

184. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 31.

185. Martin Buber, The Way of Response, N. Glatzer ed., (New York, Schocken Books, 1966), pp. 112, 206.

186. Martin Buber, Besod Siah (In the Secret of Dialogue), (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1958), p. 36.

Chapter IV

1. P. W. Musgrave, Knowledge, Curriculum and Change, (London: Angus and Robertson, 1973, p. 15.

2. Martin Buber, Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis, (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), p. 212.

3. Martin Buber, The Way of Response, ed. N. Glatzer, (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 68.

4. Ibid., p. 195.

5. Viktor E. Frankl, Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy, (New York: Pocket Books, 1973), pp. 182-183.

6. Genesis, 1:1-4.

7. A Midrashic commentary related the following anecdote. Rabbi Elazar stated: "The light that God created on the first day--man views it from one end of the world to the other. Inasmuch as God observed the generation of the Flood and the Acquisitive Generation, and saw that their actions were spoiled, he hid (the light) from them. And for whom did he hide it? For the future righteous men."

Hassidim asked: "Where did he hide it?"
They were told: "In the Torah."
They asked: "If so, won't righteous men find something of the hidden light by studying Torah?"
They answered: "They surely will find something of it . . . . "
They asked: If so, what will the righteous do when they find something of the hidden light in the Torah?"
They replied: "They will reveal it in their way of life." Buber, Hidden Light, p. ii.

8. Smith, Religions of Man, p. 259-260.

9. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 43.

10. Brinton, The Shaping of Modern Thought, p. 235-236.

11. Mordecai Kaplan, The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion, (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1937), p. 77-79.

12. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 28, 73, 74.

13. See Federbush, on Jewish Values in chapter III of study.

14. Ortega y Gasset, p. 24.

15. William S. Sahakian, ed., Outline-History of Philosophy, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), pp. 233-235.

16. Kaplan, pp. 72, 76.

17. Buber, Israel and the World, pp. 25-27.

18. Ibid., pp. 27-27.

19. Shmuel H. Bergman, Dialogical Philosophy - from Kierkegard to Buber, (Ha pilosophia hadialogit - mKierkegard ad Buber) (Jerusalem: Akademon Students Org. Press, 1971), pp. 170-171. Also, Natan Rotenstreich, From Mendelssohn to Rosenzweig; Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times, (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), pp. 186, 204.

20. Morris Freidman, ed., The Worlds of Existentialism, (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 327-329.

21. Smith, p. 265.

22. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 87-91.

23. Cassirer, pp. 224-225.

24. Buber, The Knowledge of Man, pp. 68-69, 46.

25. Noam Chomsky, For Reasons of State, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 390. Also, Chomsky, Reflections on Languages, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 40.

26. Freire points out: ". . . there is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus to speak a true word is to transform the world." Pedagogy, p. 75. The role of speech will be further clarified when discussing the "Process of Dialogue" and its Vision, "Ruah'adama'muda."

27. Rae Carlson, "Where is the Person in Personality Research," Psychology Bulletin, 70, no. 3, 1971: pp. 203, 207, 208.

28. Ibid., pp. 207-208.

29. Ibid., pp. 207-208.

30. Buber, Knowledge of Man, pp. 15-16.

31. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, pp. 17-18.

32. The Josephsons' answer is because of man's loneliness and anonymity. Eric Josephson and Mary Josephson, Man Alone (New York: Dell, 1965), p. 15.

33. Buber, I and Thou, p. 109. Also see Mordecai Kaplan's definition of God as "Cosmos out of Chaos" in The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion, p. 24.

34. Buber, I and Thou, pp. 112-113.

35. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 75.

36. H.A. Wolfson's presentation of Spinoza's concept of conscience is very interesting vis a vis Freire's identification of the true word with critical consciousness.

37. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 81.

38. Ibid.

39. Kaplan, p. 120, 121.

40. Ibid., p. 121.

41. Ibid.

42. Historically, the Land of Israel was taken from the Jewish People twice. The Second Temple's destruction, especially, reflects this rationale of "renting the land from God" as being conditioned on human behaviour. For Jewish tradition ascribes the destruction of Judeae to gross social injustice.

43. Deuteronomy, 11:13-22.

44. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 168.

45. Buber, Knowledge of Man, pp. 12, 83.

46. Ibid., pp. 52, 50.

47. Karl Jaspers, "Communication," Worlds of Existentialism, ed. M. Friedman, (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 203.

48. Narayan Desai, A Handbook for a Satyagrahi: A Manual for Volunteers of Total Revolution, (Rajghat, Varanasi: National People's Committee, 1979), pp. i, 4. (A paper presented at the First International Conference for Cooperation in Education).

49. Perhaps if man does not see nature as an adversary, he will not be alienated from it. If unwarring and unalienated, he will need human "you" to help him dialogue with nature-environment-reality. This need will, in turn, produce need for common efforts, thus inescapable human dialogue.

But commality (collective need and will)(to meaning) will not contradict individuality since each individual must reach self-realization in order to dialogue with "It"--having been transformed into "you."

Thus man will strive for perfection in arts, sciences, philosophy and technology because he will dialogue with each "it" who will become partners with him. He will take pride in his work and in his fellow man since both are the other side of his coin.

See, for example, Spengler's brilliant insight into the developmental process turning man, as beast of prey devouring plants that "cannot will or choose," into the modern, self-superior man whose prey is the world.

On the other hand, one of the early, great Zionist leaders, Zoav Jabotinsky, anticipated ecology by about seventy years. In his early writings, decades ago, he declared: "Man was created to be a son of nature, not its master. The son can nurse from his mother's breast and he is entitled to request from her care and protection but if he turns the mother into a maidservant, he will end up degenerated physically and spiritually . . . The area of the Spirit is the only area in which man is

allowed to conquer. . . The Spirit is the realm of man, the spirit and not nature. Rise as high as he can to the pinnacles of the Spirit--his daring will not bring on punishment, so long as he does not attempt to turn the idea into matter, to dunumas into land (4 dunams equal one acre) to buttons of power."

With regard to reciprocity and dialogue in human relations, Jabotinsky declares that the man walking in the street--has the same right of existence only because, and to the same degree that he recognizes my existence. This law also applies to nations. Otherwise the world will turn into a battle of wild animals, in which not only the weak will be destroyed but also the good-hearted. The world must be one of cooperation: if to live, then all must live to the same degree; and if to commit suicide, they all must suicide. However, there is no morality under which the glutton can eat as much as he wants, whereas the modest one must die of hunger on the other side of the fence. From the Hebrew; Avraham Axelrod, The Social Philosophy of Zeove Jabotinsky, (Tel-Aviv: National Workers Union Press, 1966), p. 70, 71, 77.

50. "Divinely-inspired" is not the traditional Jewish interpretation, but rather: drawing inspiration from social absolutes in the Torah (as in Chapter III, "Holy be you -- because I am Holy,"), holy in the sense of absolute criteria for righteousness and justice. Buber's "magnetic needle" tells us when one is "relative" vis a vis the "absolute" commandment. A person is holy, approaching the divine, when he carries out social commandment faithfully and fully--no matter what the consequences. Also, dialogue should not degenerate to vulgar gregariousness. Man needs also to be alone with himself--not only in order to actualize but to reflect, listen to his inner voice.

51. In chapter IV the traditional masculine form "man" and its concommitant pronouns are used to mean both man and woman.

52. Buber, I and Thou, pp. 106-107. See Buber's interpretation of "return," the ancient Judaic concept of "teshuvah," a sort of transforming stage through Jewish critical consciousness, p. 106.

53. Frankl, p. 11.

54. "Faith," in Hebrew, means--literally--"firmness."

55. Ortega y Gasset, p. 25.

56. Paul Tillich, Dynamics of Faith, (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 76.

57. Ibid., pp. 75-77.

58. Ibid., pp. 10, 12, 27.

59. Ibid.

60. Michael Polanyi, Personal Knowledge, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 60, 64, 309, 315.

61. Buber, I and Thou, p. 163.

62. Buber, The Way of Response, p. 194.

63. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 78-79.

64. Milton Mayeroff, On Caring, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 1.

65. Ibid., p. 2.

66. Ibid., pp. 1, 23-25.

67. See Chapter three of this study: Jewish "learning" values.

68. Avot, 2:9.

69. Ibn Gabirol, Mibhar Ha-Peninim (The Choice of Pearls), quoted in Lewis Browne, ed., The Wisdom of Israel, p. 442.

70. Moses Luzzatto, Mossilat Yesharim (Path of the Upright), quoted in ibid., p. 442.

71. Mayeroff, pp. 1, 23-25.

72. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

73. Freire, Education, pp. 12-13.

74. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 80.

75. Frankl, pp. 117-118.

76. Fromm, The Art of Loving, pp. 2, 77, 78.

77. Buber, I and Thou, p. 15.

78. N.Y. Times Magazine, July 4, 1976, p. 20.

79. Buber, Israel and the World, p. 29.

80. The phylacteries are two very small square cases, containing the "Hear O Israel" commandment in each one, written on parchment. The prayer contains the Biblical injunction to wear one of them 'between your eyes' and the other 'near your heart' to remember the commandments of the Torah.

Chapter V

1. Rahel Tokatli, Tehila--1981: An Educational Program for the Adult Learner, (Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Adult Education, 1981), pp. 3-4.

2. Ibid., pp. 2, 5.

3. Ibid., pp. 3,4.

4. Ibid., p. 7.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ben-Ami Weiner and Teluda Marcus, The Purposeful Management of Intergroup Relations, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University School of Education, Baerwald School of Social Work, 1981), p. 17.

8. Ibid., pp. 27-30.

9. Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology, (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1973), p. 19.

10. Ibid., p. 11.

11. See for example, a comparable situation in Freire and Smith with regard to Compesino behavior in Brazil and Ecuador, labelled "horizontal aggression."

12. The Moslem Arabs, the Druze and other tradition-oriented minorities who are all citizens within Israel, being exposed to modernization, face the same problem. They find a greater cultural gap in effecting change since they had no "renaissance" movement. Thus the transition is potentially more dangerous, making for fanaticism and extremism.

13. Eric Hoffer, The Ordeal of Change, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 3.

14. Julius K. Nyerere, Ujama: Essays on Socialism (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 44.

15. Moshe Caspi and Avraham Stahl, The Culturally-Disadvantaged Child, in Education in Israel, (Jerusalem: Israel Defense Army, 1972), p. 84.

16. Nyerere, pp. 48-49.

17. Ibid., p. 45.

18. Ibid., p. 50.

19. Ibid., pp. 113-114.

20. Ibid., p. 53.

21. Ibid., p. 107.

22. Ibid., p. 52.

23. Ibid., p. 56.

24. Ibid., p. 57.

25. Ibid., p. 71.

26. Ibid., p. 45.

27. Shlomo D. Goitein, "Jewish Education in Yemen," in Between Past and Future, Carl Frankenstein, ed., (Jerusalem: The Henrietta Szold Foundation for Child, Youth and Welfare, 1953), pp. 144-145.

28. Ibid.

29. Nyerere, p. 171.

30. Ibid., p. 64.

31. Dan Davis and Judith Kugelmass, Home Environment: The Impact of the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) on the Mother's Role as Educator--An Interim Evaluation, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, School of Education, Magnes Press, 1974), p. 2.

32. Ibid., p. 10.

33. Ibid., p. 15.

34. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 97.

35. Ibid., p. 89.

36. Ibid., p. 82.

37. Buber, I and Thou, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 67.

38. Freire, p. 79.

39. Education, limited to the framework of the school, is anti-dialogical in Freirian terms: "Men teach each other, mediated by the world, by cognizable objects which in "banking education" are "owned" by the teacher. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 67.

Buber supplements this view, as it were, by stating: "Those who experience do not participate in the world, for the experience is "in them" and not between them and the world." This would, of course, be challenged by modern, "humanistic" educators who strongly advocate affective education. Buber, I and Thou, p. 56.

But school-limited-education is not only antithetical to dialogical theory but also to practical implementation of such programs as "functional literacy," comprehensive nutrition and health schemes, work-oriented projects, etc., in India, Tanzania, Thailand and other developing countries.

40. Nyerere, p. 67.

41. Ibid.

42. Gar Alperovitz, A Long Revolution, p. 535.

43. Ibid., p. 537.

44. Ibid., p. 538.

45. Yaakov Malkin, Quality of Life and the Revival of the Community, (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1976), p. 30.

46. Ibid., p. 45.

47. Ibid., p. 46.

48. Ibid., p. 48.

49. Ibid., p. 53.

50. Richard C. Edwards, et al, The Capitalist System, p. 524.

51. Eliezer Schweid, "Renewal of Community Life in Israel," Petahim, (Jerusalem: Petahim Press, September, 1978), pp. 3-5.

52. Ibid., p. 5.

53. Moshe Forte, Approaches in Parental Guidance to Narrow the Educational Gap, (Gishot Behadrachat Horim Letsimtsum hapear hachinuchi), (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute and the Dept. of Adult Education, Ministry of Ed. and Culture, 1978), p. 38.

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56. Hobart Thomas, Encounter: Methods and Strategies, (London: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 78.

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58. Buber, The Way of Response, p. 68.

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Chapter VI

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